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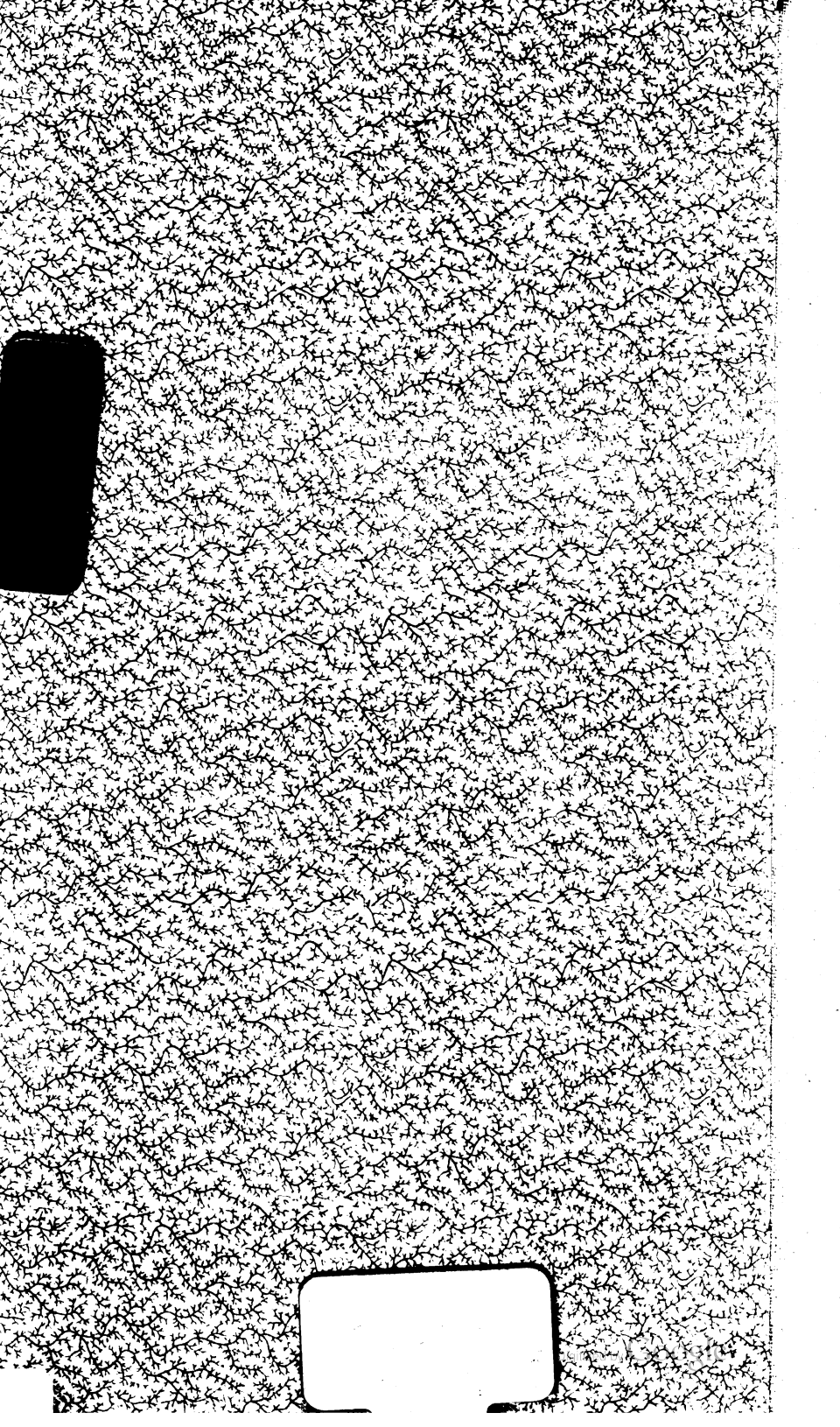
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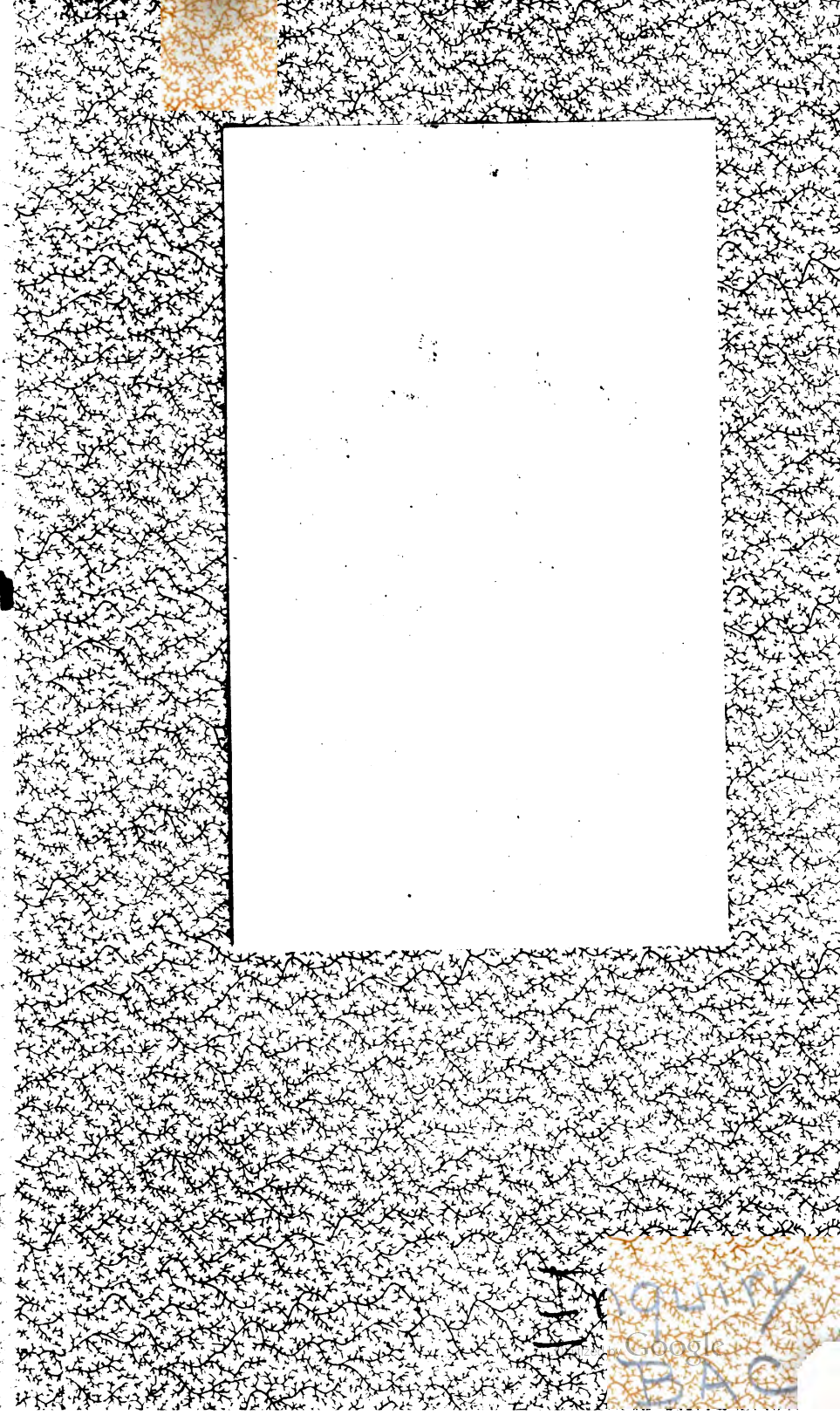
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AN
INQUIRY
INTO THE
TRUTH OF HISTORY.

BY THE
AUTHOR OF "REMARKS UPON THE SUPPOSED
DIONYSIUS LONGINUS." / ?

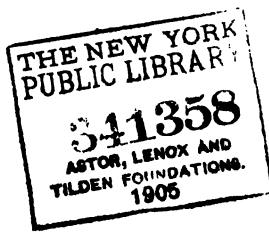
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AN
INQUIRY,

ETC.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

HERODOTUS.

“ ‘ Have patience,’ soft Morley, in anger, replied;
‘ To find out our way, let us send off our guide.’ ”

PRIOR.

WE have accustomed ourselves to correct Scripture by profane history, but in the present inquiry a different plan will be adopted, and profane history will be corrected by Scripture.

Nebuchadnezzar was monarch of the civilized world : “ all people, nations, and languages trembled and feared before him.

PART II.

B

Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down." A system, therefore, whether of chronology, or history, in which the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar are not recognized, is incorrect. Babylon was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Persians. Darius, the Mede, took the kingdom; Cyrus, the Persian, succeeded him, restored the Jews, and put down idolatry. It is evident, therefore, that the Cyrus of Scripture is not the Cyrus of profane history.

So far, however, we shall not have much difficulty in doing as Plutarch wished to do; for we may give consistency and an historical form to fable, by considering the tales of Troy divine, as the harlot songs of Tyre; and we may make the romance of Herodotus take the form of history, by allowing Cambyzes "to disfigure, or present the person" of Nebuchadnezzar. Nabopolassar will then be the Cyrus of Herodotus, and the strange story of Smerdis, the Magian, and the imaginary king-

dom of Lydia ^a, may serve to shew, that although the strolling players acted Hamlet with the omission of the principal character, Herodotus, with all his ingenuity, and all his zeal for idolatry, could not altogether omit the history of the Jews! For Smerdis and the Magi, are meant for Daniel and his companions; the kingdom of Lydia is the kingdom of Judah; the story of Croesus is the history of Hezekiah, mixed up with that of his son Manasses; and the story of Candaules is taken from the history of David, mixed up with that of Hezekiah ^b.

^a I will not trouble the reader with a long note. Let him carefully compare Homer and Herodotus, and he will more than doubt the antiquity of this Lydian kingdom. Let him consider the bustle and debate which our petty emigrations have caused, and ask himself whether the natives of so small and insignificant a territory, as that of Proper Greece, were likely to have established the Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian colonies.

^b Hezekiah conquered the Ionim, or idolaters, of Palestine, and Croesus conquered the Ionian colonies; we find here fresh proof of the confusion which has so often arisen from similarity of names. The Latins distinguished between *Iōnius*, and *Iōnicus*, but we confound the Ionim, the worshippers of Io, or Juno, or Jonah, or of Day, (יוֹם) with the Iones,

But if Cyrus is Nabopolassar, and Cambyzes is Nebuchadnezzar, Xerxes, who destroyed so many of the temples of the idolaters, will be the Cyrus of Scripture; and the reader may ask, with surprise, whether he is to discredit the famous in-

who sprung from Javan, the Hebrew Iun. The remarkable history of Jonah was not likely to be forgotten. It may be traced in that of Io, and Derceto and the fish Oannes, for spirits "can either sex assume." The Ionian sea took its name from him probably, and we may thus understand why Homer called Lacedæmon *κητώισσα*, if we bear in mind that Jonah was swallowed by a great fish. The savage Centaurs, i. e. the wild mountaineers of Taurus, on their little nags, have been confounded with the learned and polished Centaur Chiron, who may be referred to Hiram, Khan of Tyre. The Cyclops of Homer is very different from the Cyclopes, who worked for Vulcan; but if the name means red faced (and *Kuzzil* still means *red* in Persian) we may account for the sameness of name and difference of character. Pyrrhus is said to have been so called from the redness of his hair; and the monster, Typhon, is said to have been of a red colour. The savage and red-faced shepherd of Homer will be Nebuchadnezzar, the original Pyrrhus, and Typhon: the slaves of Vulcan will be the Edomites or Messenians, who were the slaves of the Spartan ironmongers. The reader need not be told that Edom signifies *red*, nor that the modern Pelasgi, or gipsies, are given to tinkering. In the ninth century, Dionysius, of Athens, was identified with Dionysius of Paris. See Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*. Vol. v. p. 489.

vasion of Greece? An invasion so celebrated ; vouched for by so much Greek verse, and so much Greek prose, and acknowledged, as we are told, by Scripture.

We will proceed cautiously. Thucydides is allowed to be a better historian than Herodotus. Even in Larcher's life of Herodotus, the truth peeps out, and we may surmise that Herodotus was the laughing-stock of his cotemporaries ; but Thucydides, notwithstanding the difficulties under which he laboured, as the historian of his own times, has always borne a high character for veracity. Had Thucydides, however, spoken the whole truth with regard to the Persian invasion, Grecian vanity would have been sorely wounded, and the Greeks might have been inclined to make short work with the historian and his history.

When we find, therefore, that Thucydides never mentions Herodotus ; that he sets out with affirming that the Peloponnesian war was the greatest of the Grecian wars ; that the Persian war was the great-

est of former wars, and yet that it was quickly decided in two sea-fights, and two land-fights^a: and that even in the time of Themistocles the Athenian ships were not whole-decked. When we find from the speech, which he puts into the mouth of Pericles, how necessary experience and constant practice were in naval matters, and we bear in mind that before the Persian war the Athenians had little or no commerce, and were unable to cope with the merchant-pirates of the barren rock of Ægina; when we find that Æschylus says nothing about the sea-fights of Artemisium, and that Isocrates^b carried the license of panegyric no farther than to give the Athenians a fleet of sixty ships; when we read what Livy says about the Euripus^c,

^a Δυεῖν ναυμαχίας καὶ πεζομαχίας. Lib. I. c. 23. We cannot possibly make more than four engagements altogether.

^b — ἐξήκοντα τρίηρεις πληρώσαντες πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πολιμίων ναυτικόν. Paneg. p. 74, of the late Oxford edition.

^c "Aristotle as the story goes, drowned himself here, out of chagrin for not being able to account for so unusual a motion." (The flux and reflux of the Euripus.) Livy was

and are told by Herodotus and Mitford, that the Greek ships escaped all damage, by having retreated thither ; when we are told that the Persians lost above 600 ships of war, and consequently above 100,000 men*, and yet that at Salamis they were able, through their reinforcements, to muster

romantic enough, but his language is too strong to go for nothing. It is thus translated in the new edition of Lempriere's Dictionary, where also the notice of Aristotle is to be found. "A more dangerous station for a fleet can hardly be found ; besides that, the winds rush down suddenly and with great fury from the high mountains on each side. The strait itself of the Euripus does not flow seven times a day at stated hours, as report says, but the current changing irregularly, like the wind from one point to another, is hurried along like a torrent tumbling from a steep mountain, so that night or day ships can never lie in quiet." Livy, L. xxiii. c. 6. The Greeks took the bull by the horns.

* "According to the lowest report 400 galleys of war were sunk or destroyed." "Means were totally wanting to estimate the destruction of store-ships and attending vessels." — "Fifteen galleys——fell in with the Grecian fleet——all were taken." Two hundred galleys were sent round Eubœa.——"All perished." (Mitford's description of the battles, &c. of Artemisium.) To these losses we must add the losses in the two battles. Whenever Mitford's translation would answer my purpose I have used it, not only to save myself from trouble and responsibility, but because he favours Herodotus.

1200 triremes, and that these 1200 triremes advanced from the Athenian coast and surrounded Salamis, without being seen or heard^a by the confederates, or by the anxious refugees^b, who were crowded into that small island; when we look in the map and read what Herodotus and Mitford relate of the battle of Salamis, we must indeed be more fond of fiction than truth^c, if we prefer Herodotus to Thucydides.

As for the canal of Athos, Herodotus ascribes it to the vanity of Xerxes, Mitford chuses to see further; yet Mitford

^a Ἐποίησαν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πιθανοίαιτο οἱ ἑταῖροι. Herod. Lib. viii. c. 76. It were a delicate stratagem to shoe a troop of horse with felt; but how 1200 ships, carrying 230 men a-piece, and having three banks of oars, could move in silence is most extraordinary. Mitford does not expressly mention the silence, but it is implied in his narrative.

^b See the description which Lysias gives in his funeral oration.

^c "I have somewhere seen an anecdote of a sailor's mother, who believed all the strange lies which he told her for his amusement, but never could be persuaded to believe there could be in existence such a thing as a flying fish." Notes to Madoc. We believe all the wonders of Grecian history, but cannot believe what Scripture tells us of Nebuchadnezzar.

himself tells us, that "at the very time of the expedition of Xerxes there were no fewer than five Grecian towns on the peninsula itself of Athos, one even on the isthmus, situate, as Thucydides particularly mentions, close to the canal, and many on the adjacent coasts." It is probable, therefore, that this canal, like most other canals, was made for commercial purposes. The map will shew that it could have been of little use to the fleet of Xerxes*, and if he had condescended to take such a precaution against bad weather, he would not so soon afterwards have fancied himself the lord of the Hellespont, and treated it as a rebellious vassal. According to Mitford, to cross the Ægean, even now, with all the modern improvements in navigation, is singularly dangerous. In the good old times, however, it was different.

Jason and his brother Argonauts, Paris and his Trojans crossed and returned in

* If I am not mistaken, Gibbon has some observations to this purport.

safety. The Grecian ships, encumbered as they must have been with horses^a and chariots, and military furniture, and manned, as some of them were, by mere landsmen^b, met with no accident on their way to Troy. Achilles would scarcely have left any part

^a There are many passages in the Iliad, which imply that the horses of the chiefs came from Greece; and as they did not fight on horseback, it is to be presumed that the chiefs did not leave their chariots behind them.

^b In sixty sail th' Arcadian bands unite

* * * *

Their ships supplied by Agamemnon's care
Through roaring seas the wond'ring warriors bear."

Homer says that Agamemnon gave them the ships, and if Achilles is correct, Agamemnon was not much in the giving vein, but at any rate the Arcadian shepherds would have been a little perplexed when they made their first appearance in the character of rowers, especially as there were many of them in each ship.

—πολείς δ' ἐν ἡἰ ἐκάστῃ
Ἀρκάδες ἄνδρες ἔβαινον ἐπιστάμενοι πολέμοιο.

Might not some of the ships have met with the fate of the English waggon and horses, which Sir Phelimy French brought over to Ireland? He forgot to bring a driver, and when he ordered it out, it came round with eight drivers, one to every horse, and the horses, not knowing what was meant by *hup* and *hough*, and the drivers as little understanding what they called the humours of the waggon, it was over-turned into the ha-ha, pronounced a folly, and left to rot.

of his booty or other property behind him; yet neither the politic Ulysses, nor the friendly Phoenix endeavoured to detain him by mentioning the danger of the passage. The vessels of the Greeks were in very bad condition, when Agamemnon proposed that they should abandon Troy, and yet, without any hesitation, they took him at his word, and began to prepare for their homeward voyage.

If these instances are thought to savour of poetry, let us try prose. What does the reader think of the Æolic, Ionic, and Doric emigrations? Can he not find in Herodotus alone, sufficient proofs of a frequent and easy communication between the Asiatic and European coasts? Does he remember the sequel of the battle of Salamis? "The Persian fleet", says Mitford, "had remained three days in the road of Artemisium, to refresh the crews after their sufferings by storms and engagements. Three days then brought them through the Euripus to Phalerum."

"The fleet and army being again met,

a council of naval commanders was summoned." The wise advice of Artemisia "was overruled, and it was determined to attack the Grecian fleet next morning."

"That very night the Persians moved, and formed a semicircle from the point of Salamis to the port of Munychia. The Egyptian squadron was detached to block up the western passage." The battle, as the reader must be aware, began early in the morning; the Persian fleet was defeated. "No port was near, capable of protecting its shattered and disheartened, but still large, remains. Phalerum, then the principal harbour of Athens, could not contain half its numbers. A hasty order, of the very night after the engagement, directed it to go immediately for the Hellespont. Day broke, and the Greeks, who expected a renewal of the action, looked in vain for an enemy."

According to Polybius*, "If any one should take away from history the cause of

* Lib. iii. c. 31.

the operations, the manner of executing them, and the nature of the event, the remainder becomes an exhibition of skill indeed, but not an instructive work. It pleases for the moment, but with regard to futurity, it is altogether useless." The opinion of Cicero^a leads us to the same conclusion; and, therefore, though the reader may like my mode of discussing, as Othello liked the music^b, I shall venture to bestow some more of my tediousness upon him, and examine rather minutely the account which has just been given from Mitford.

"The triremes of the Persian fleet are generally said to have been about 1200: according to Herodotus, they were above 1300." We will take the smaller number, and estimate the complement of each trireme not at 230, but at 200. Still the number of men will be 240,000.

"The necessity among the ancients for

^a De Oratore, L'b. ii.

^b "The general so likes your music, that he desires you of all loves, to make no more noise with it."

debarking continually to encamp their crews, arose from the make of their ships of war ; whose most valuable property, for their means of naval action, being swiftness in rowing, to obtain this, burden was excluded: insomuch, that not only they could not carry any stock of provisions, but the numerous crews could neither sleep nor even eat conveniently aboard." So says Mitford^a; and he is borne out by Thucydides, who mentions among the hardships which the Athenians experienced in their blockade of Sphacteria, "that they went on shore by reliefs for their meals, living otherwise aboard their triremes at anchor."^b And the inconvenience of such a state may be shewn from the voyage of Nearchus ; for although his squadron had been fitted out with great care and expense, and the crews were probably picked men, yet their suffering was so great from being confined on board two nights, that

^a Vol. iii. Chap. xiii. sect. 3.

^b Ibid. Chap. xv. sect. 7.

it was found necessary to disembark them, and form a camp on shore^a.

We will grant that the crews of the Persian fleet suffered no inconvenience in their passage through the Euripus to Phalerum ; we will grant that out of the 3000 store-ships, half had been lost or damaged, and consequently that only 1,500 accompanied the ships of war to the Athenian coast. Still the bustle and confusion must have been extremely great ; Attica was filled with the land forces of Xerxes, its scanty streams were of course drunk up ; accommodation of every kind must have been very scarce, so that the 124,000 men, who formed the crews of the ships of war, even if they were accommodated on shore, must have been accommodated very badly. Mitford mentions that the Persian fleet moved on the very night after the council of war was held ; but he omits to mention that

^a Vincent, in his note on the passage, says, " In vessels like those of the Greeks, which afforded neither space for motion, nor convenience for rest, the continuing on board at night was always a calamity," &c.

they had before begun to move in the day-time; a circumstance of some importance, as it increased the fatigue of the seamen.

At night they moved in silence, for they were not heard, and in darkness, for they were not seen. How difficult, not to say how impossible, an operation for 1,200 ships, moved by oars, and manned by crews of various countries and various languages! These crews passed the night on board, (for where could they have landed?) the next morning they engaged in a severe fight, and suffered a severe defeat. "No port was near, capable of protecting the fleet's shattered and disheartened, but still large remains." "A hasty order, of the very night after the engagement, directed it to go immediately to the Hellespont;" and off they went without being seen or heard.

Had the passage of the *Ægean* been thought dangerous, would Xerxes have given this order, and would it have been so readily obeyed, under such circumstances?

Let us now attend a little to the land-forces. As for the bridge over the Hellespont, every reader of Homer must be aware, that there was a very snug communication by land ; for otherwise, how could Rhesus and his Thracians have arrived on the field of battle, without the knowledge of the Greeks ? As for drinking up rivers, the little progress which the Londoners have hitherto made in drinking up the New River^a, shews that it is not very practicable to drink up water faster than it is supplied by the parent stream^b; and, as far as the parent streams were concerned, what did it signify whether the water flowed down the throats of the Persians, or in its usual channel ? As for bread, Herodotus

^a The New River is said to supply thirteen millions of gallons of water daily. Could the hosts of Xerxes have wanted more ? But as his cattle drank up a salt lake, we must not compare old times with the present.

^b “ There likewise is a copper skillet,
Which runs as fast out, as you fill it.”

This, though poetical, is possible ; but the hydraulics of Herodotus require that the skillet should run out faster than you fill it.

himself professes that he cannot tell how the Persian army could have been provided with that essential article ; so that the wonderful Xerxes may have resembled Cowper's Katerfelto,

—" With his hair on end
At his own wonders, wondering for his bread."

But Mardonius:—if Mardonius was naturally disposed to do extraordinary things, Herodotus was disposed to relate them, and Mitford to believe them ; but neither the one nor the other has done justice to the ability with which Mardonius supplied all the wants of his numerous army. Observe what happened in the retreat of Xerxes,—“ The invasion alone had been considered, the retreat was unprovided for. The disorderly multitude, therefore, lived by rapine, from friends equally and from foes ; but all was insufficient. Other sustenance failing, they ate the very grass from the ground, and the bark, and even leaves from the trees ; and as the historian, with emphatical simplicity, says, ‘ they left

nothing.' Dysenteries and pestilential fevers seized whom famine spared. Numbers were left sick in the towns of Thessaly, Pæonia, Macedonia, and Thrace, with arbitrary orders, little likely to be diligently obeyed, that support and attendance should be provided for them."*

Yet in Thessaly Mardonius remained all the winter ; the chief instigator of an expedition, which had ended so disgracefully, and hated on that account by the living ; surrounded by the dead and dying, separated from the fleet, having before him the countries which Xerxes had either wasted with fire and sword, or at least distressed and drained of all supplies by his multitudes ; having behind him the countries, in which the miserable fugitives had consumed the grass, the bark, and the leaves of the trees ; having much to apprehend from the accounts which Artabazus and his defeated troops would naturally give on their return, and from the

* Mitford.

contrast of the situation of his army with that of the triumphant and rejoicing Greeks ^a. Mardonius, nevertheless, maintained so strict a discipline, that although the Athenians had returned to Attica, and the temple of Delphi was receiving the spoils of his countrymen, no hostilities of any kind took place. "Spring," says the historian, "and the recollection that Mardonius was in Thessaly, awakened the Greeks." And yet Thessaly is near to Attica, and 300,000 selected soldiers were with Mardonius.

According to Æschylus ^b, the very country of the Greeks fought on their side and starved the haughty foes. Had Xerxes

^a That the Isthmus was the scene of triumph and rejoicing must be allowed, if we believe the account of what passed there after the retreat of Xerxes. But that it was so is very extraordinary. Xerxes, in his advance, burnt the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedieæ, Tritææ, Elateia, Hyampolis, Paropotamii, Abæ, with their temples; Thespiæ, also, and Plataæ; and, as Herodotus mentions in two places, he ravaged Attica. How were the wretched inhabitants of these places to procure food and shelter during the winter?

^b See the dialogue between Darius and the Chorus in the *Persæ*.

chosen to dine as he had supped over night, there would have been an end of Abdera^a. The vessels, therefore, that were carrying corn from the Euxine to Ægina and Peloponnesus, might easily have found a market without crossing the dangerous Ægean, and we may infer from this, and many other circumstances, that Greece did not produce enough for the consumption of its natives^b. In June, according to Mitford, Mardonius retook possession of Athens. While he “had any hope of

^a Herodotus.

^b What is the literal meaning of sycophant? Why were the enlightened Athenians so fearful of not having enough figs? Without thinking, like Sir Andrew Aguecheek, that our lives consist in eating and drinking, I may assert that attention to these matters makes one great difference between romance and real life. The Janizaries were fatalists and fanatics, yet the following extract shews that their stomachs were not neglected. “The colonel, or head of a regiment, was called the tshorbadgi, or soup-maker; the officers next in rank were *chief cooks* and *water-drawers*; the soldiers carried a wooden spoon in front of their caps instead of a tuft, or feather, and the kettle, or cauldron, was the sacred standard and rallying point of every regiment.” Foreign Quarterly Review. (Von Hammer’s History of the Ottoman Empire.)

bringing over the Athenians, he had carefully spared Attica ; but as soon as he was assured that they were immoveable, he gave up the country for plunder to his troops, and he completely destroyed the city." We are not to conclude from this that he troubled himself about gathering in the harvest. He fell back on his magazines. How he had managed to fill those magazines, was, indeed, a very extraordinary thing ; but, that his army was abundantly supplied, is as much a fact as any thing in the whole campaign. "Tents and their furniture, adorned with gold and silver, collars, bracelets, hilts of scimitars, golden cups, and various other utensils of gold and silver, together with horses, camels, and women, were the principal spoil. Abundance of rich clothes, which at another time," says the historian, "would have been thought valuable plunder, were now disregarded." "Pausanias, after admiring the various riches of the scene, and the many contrivances of luxury, ordered a supper to be prepared by the Persian

slaves, exactly as it would have been for Mardonius had he been living. The orders were diligently executed; the splendid furniture was arranged; the side-board displayed a profusion of gold and silver plate; the table was covered with exquisite elegance." All this took place in the camp of Mardonius, a camp which had just been made the field of slaughter, and where more than 100,000 dead bodies were lying unburied^a.

Have we banished fairy tales from the nursery, that Herodotus might be studied at the University? How true is the remark of Thucydides^b: Οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται! Notwithstanding the boasted march of intellect, how little have

^a If the reader will turn to Herodotus, Lib. ix. c. 70., he will find that I have under-rated the slaughter. There is nothing in Herodotus, or Mitford, which shows, or implies, that the Greeks concerned themselves about the wounded or dead Persians. What became of the prisoners, of the women, horses, and camels?

^b Lib. i. c. 20.

we profited by the remark of Horsley, that wonder connected with a principle of rational curiosity is the source of all knowledge and discovery, and it is a principle even of piety ; but wonder, which ends in wonder, and is satisfied with wondering, is the quality of an idiot !

Let us return to the sagacious and noble-minded exile, who preferred truth to flattery, and wrote not for present applause, but for the information of future ages. Had Thucydides mentioned Herodotus, we might have expected that he would have condemned him in plain, though guarded words. But Thucydides, refers to Hellanicus, and not to Herodotus, and we must therefore endeavour to learn his opinion of Herodotus, not from single and explicit passages, but from the whole tenor of his history ; bearing in mind, however, that as Fox, who was said to be English all over, had yet two opinions on parliamentary reform, one for the public and the other for his own friends ; so might

Thucydides have found it necessary not to tell the whole truth, when he touched upon the invasion and defeat of the Persians. For although Herodotus is said to have been on good terms with the nine Muses, yet had Clio herself been disposed to turn his romance into history, she might have been as much puzzled as Britomart in the house of Busyrane.

“ And as she lookt about, she did behold
How over that same dore was likewise writ,
Be bolde, Be bolde, and every where *Be bold* ;
That much she muz'd, yet could not construe it,
By any ridling skill, or commune wit.
At last she spyde at that rowmes upper end
Another yron dore, on which was writ
Be not too bold ! ”

In his very first book Thucydides mentions, that after the battle near Potidæa, the Athenians erected a trophy, and restored the dead bodies to the Potidæans ; and from several other passages we may safely infer that to erect a trophy, to bury their own dead, and to allow the enemy to bury

theirs, was the practice of the Greeks on gaining a victory, and that it was in fact the acknowledged proof of victory. But in no part of Herodotus do we find that the Greeks erected a trophy. At Artemisium, Thermopylæ, and Salamis, the wounded and the dead seem to have been neglected alike ; at Plataea, Herodotus says, that the dead were buried on the field of battle ; but as far as regards the Athenians he is contradicted by Thucydides. Here, therefore, we have a strong though incidental testimony against the correctness of Herodotus. Where no trophy was erected, we may question if any victory was gained ; where no care was taken of the bodies of the dead, we may question if any battle was fought.

Thucydides, however, does mention the fight of Thermopylæ, and mentions it under remarkable circumstances. They who have read his history must remember the blockade of Sphacteria. The number of the blockaded Spartans was 420, and when

their situation was known at Sparta it caused so much alarm that "the principal magistrates, the leaders of the administration came to the camp of Pylus to assure themselves of the exact state of things"^a; and ambassadors were afterwards sent to Athens. The negotiation was ineffectual, and in describing the attack which took place afterwards, and the situation of the Spartans when the fort was scaled, Thucydides observes, that to liken a small thing to a great thing, they were in the same case as those who perished at Thermopylæ. Perhaps the best way of discovering the real meaning of Thucydides will be to take his words in their literal sense. We will therefore consider the fight of Thermopylæ as a great thing, and we must consequently recognize the sea-fight at Artemisium: for it is evident that Leonidas could not have defended Thermopylæ, unless the passage of the Euripus was also defended. Æschylus,

^a See Mitford.

however, knows nothing of either of these engagements, and we shall be embarrassed rather than assisted by Isocrates; so that we must once more have recourse to Herodotus, for the history of Hellanicus has not reached us. According to Herodotus, "the numbers under the command of Xerxes, which arrived without misfortune at Sepias and Thermopylæ were five million, two hundred eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty men, exclusive of women and eunuchs without number, and a vast train of incumbrances." * Can we with any decency make Thucydides vouch for a tenth part of this number?

At Sepias the Persian fleet suffered very severely from a violent storm which raged for three days, but without doing any injury to the Grecian fleet. After the first sea-fight at Artemisium there was another storm; an immense quantity of rain fell during the whole night, and the thunder

* Mitford.

was violent. Even this, however, did not inconvenience the Greek seamen, although it almost scared the enemy out of their wits^a. Shall we make Thucydides vouch for this? But there was something still more extraordinary in these storms. We may learn from Homer and from experience, that storms are apt to do mischief in mountainous and woody countries. Leonidas and his army must escape by virtue of the same patent which secured the Greek seamen in the dangerous Euripus^b: we will also look at the map, and nevertheless affirm that the pass of Thermopylæ was not likely to be obstructed by the effects of the two storms. But are we to carry our respect for the Greek Prospero still further, and make Thucydides vouch for more absurdities? Xerxes lost many hundred vessels and many thousand seamen by the storms. Did the armed multitudes

^a See Herodotus.

^b " Rain beats, hail rattles, whirlwinds tear,
The slender hut in fragments flew,
But not a lock of Moy's loose hair
Was waved by wind, or wet by dew."

who were crowded together on land suffer nothing? What became of the numberless women and eunuchs? "Horses, mules, asses, oxen, and camels for the baggage, were besides innumerable."^a Did the pelting of the pitiless storm create no confusion among these? Herodotus says nothing on the subject. But for the rustling of the dry leaves, which alarmed the Phocians, we should have little authority for asserting that even a leaf had fallen.

Walls, with the exception of a very celebrated one^b, are not moveables. The Spartans did not place themselves on the wall; there was no room for them to place themselves along-side of it; we conclude, therefore, that they placed themselves either before it or behind it; for they did not act as mountaineers sometimes act, they did not defend the pass by occupying

^a Mitford.

^b *Midsummer Night's Dream*; enter Pyramus, Thisbe, Wall, Moonshine, &c. Has not Herodotus enacted the part of Moonshine in his own drama?

the heights above it*. The first engagements are said to have taken place at the junction of the *Æsopus* and *Phoenix*, neither of which appears to have been drunk up by the Persians, though they staid so long in the neighbourhood, nor to have been swollen by the immense quantity of rain, nor to have been choked up by the dead bodies. Neither do the Persian archers appear to have thought it worth their while to act as our archers so often acted against the men at arms. The wall, however, must have been in the rear of the Greeks; their communications, therefore — But why should I trespass any longer on the reader's patience? If he wishes to discover from what materials Herodotus has composed this strange ac-

* A score or two of archers, or slingers, well posted, would have sent Leonidas and his companions to the right about, notwithstanding the length of their spears; but at *Thermopylæ* we hear nothing of the Persian archers or slingers. At *Platæa*, mention is made of the Athenian archers, and of their great use; but according to *Æschylus*, the Athenians had no archers. See Mitford's note on the battle of *Marathon*, Chap. vii. sect. 4; but remember that the passage from *Æschylus* ought to be applied to the invasion under *Xerxes*.

count ^a, he has only to combine the blockade of Sphacteria and the story of Gideon. "The ^b report of Diodorus, followed by Plutarch, Justin, and others, that Leonidas with his Spartans, attacked the Persian camp by night and penetrated to the royal tent," may be "inconsistent with the other circumstances, whether of place or time ;" but here, as elsewhere, they who differed from the first fabler have had recourse to his original. The Achilles of Homer fell on the field of battle. Ovid has faithfully followed Homer ; but the received account is, that Achilles was slain in the temple, and at the altar. Why do we thus

^a Plutarch has justly ridiculed Herodotus for asserting that Leonidas kept 400 Thebans with him as hostages. If Leonidas and his men were resolved to perish, the Thebans might perish also ; but they could not be kept as hostages. Besides, was it likely that the 300 Spartans, when surrounded by the troops of Xerxes, would have had either the inclination or the power to keep with them 400 ill-disposed Thebans ? Larcher tells us, that "*Leonidas s'étoit fait accompagner, selon l'usage, de sept Hilotes par chaque Spartiate,*" &c. Were the 2100 Helots likely to take the part of their oppressors ?

^b Mitford.

differ from the great original, from Homer the god of our idolatry? Why did Diodorus, Plutarch, Justin, and others adopt what Mitford rightly calls an absurd fiction? Asahel pursued Abner, and would not desist from the pursuit, till Abner slew him: Joab slew Abner, in revenge for Asahel's death, and Joab was slain at the altar. Gideon did go down to the enemy's host by night, he went where the Midianites and Amalekites and all the children of the east lay along the valley like grasshoppers for multitude, and their camels without number as the sand by the sea side for multitude. Horace and Ovid differ totally in their account of the fate of Orion*, but each has been guided by that

* "—— integræ
Tentator Orion Dianæ
Virgineâ domitus sagittâ."

says Horace. Ovid, on the contrary, says,

"Scorpion immisit Tellus, fuit impetus illi
Curva gemelliparæ spicula ferre Deæ.
Obstitit Orion. Latona nitentibus astris
Addidit: et, meriti præmia, dixit, habe."

According to one, Diana, Latona's daughter, slew Orion, for assaulting her; according to the other, Latona, Diana's

book, of which both Greeks and Romans pretended to know nothing.

Let us now attend to the invasion of Attica. That the Athenians abandoned their country and betook themselves to Salamis; that Xerxes ravaged Attica and burnt the temples of the Athenians, is notorious. The great charge which Greek writers, from Æschylus down to Strabo and Arrian, have brought against Xerxes,

mother, put Orion among the stars for defending her. Orion has been supposed to be Ishmael, and Hyrieus, Abraham; but here, as usual, the heathens have purposely confused what they took from Scripture, otherwise, indeed, there would be no difficulty in lifting the veil of Isis. We shall find that Orion is not Ishmael, but Esau, who also was a great hunter. *Or-* relates to *red*, and *-lon* seems generally to relate to Abraham and Lot, and their descendants. The Orion of Ovid relates to the Messenians or Edomites, who made war on the Spartans or Ammonites, and were conquered and oppressed by them. The Orion of Horace relates to the Edomites of Syria, who opposed Israel or the scorpion; and Latona, the mother of Diana and Apollo, relates to Lot's daughters, the mothers of Moab and Ammon. Latona was a Titaness: Who are the Titans? The descendants of Abraham, who attacked the gods, or the idolatrous nations of Canaan. The war of the Giants means a much later event, the wars of Nebuchadnezzar; and the mountains piled on mountains relate to his stupendous works in the siege of Tyre.

is that he burnt the Grecian temples. Does Thucydides notice the destruction of these temples, the rebuilding of them, or even the purifying of the places which Xerxes polluted? Were the graves of the heroes of Marathon disturbed? Was the famous picture of Miltiades and the other chiefs destroyed? Did the ship of Theseus cease to exist?

After the departure of Xerxes, Athens and its whole territory seem to have been recovered without a struggle; the Peisistratid Athenians disappeared; the Greeks past the winter in celebrating their success, and took no thought of Mardonius and his 300,000 men. After the victory of Plataea, after the demolition of the Persian, we might have expected that the Greeks would begin forthwith to restore the communication between Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece, by pulling down the wall and mound, and that the Athenians, being now really secure, would rebuild the temples and their own houses, provide for the helpless, and pay due honour to the

dead. It seems, however, that the wall and mound remained as they were, and that the great object of the Athenians was to secure themselves against future attacks by rebuilding their walls*. We learn, besides, from Thucydides, that when the Athenians really did abandon the open country, they did not retire to Salamis. How much they suffered while they were cooped up in Athens ; how unwillingly they abandoned the rest of Attica to the invading Peloponnesians ; how superior they then were in naval strength to their antagonists, is well known. Why did they not do as their forefathers had done twice ? Why did not they betake themselves to Salamis ? Why did not some one propose such a measure ? Why did not Pericles remind his countrymen of past times ? Why does Thucydides mention *ancient*

* When the Greeks wished to pursue the Persian fleet to the Hellespont, Themistocles advised them to return, rebuild their houses and sow their fields. We hear nothing of Themistocles during the advance and defeat of Mardonius, but afterwards we find him very active in providing Athens with walls. Had the loss of two harvests rendered his former advice unnecessary ?

temples^a? Why has Thucydides, the grandson, if not the son of those who, in common with their patriotic countrymen, twice sacrificed their property that they might preserve their freedom, why has this Athenian written so as to make us suspect that when the Peloponnesians in-

^a Ἰδρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. Lib. ii. c. 15. Read his observations upon the abandonment of the open country, and judge if in his opinion the whole of Attica had been twice abandoned not more than fifty years before the Peloponnesian war. Mitford himself, after stating the arguments of Pericles, says, "this measure, however, was not resolved on, even upon conviction of the pressure of necessity without extreme reluctance; for the Attic people, continues the cotemporary writer, were beyond all other Greeks attached to their country possessions and a country life." Compare the circumstances in the two wars. In the Peloponnesian war Athens was not abandoned. The inhabitants of the country brought all their furniture with them. "Their cattle, great and small, and attending slaves were transported to the neighbouring islands, principally to Eubœa." (Mitford.) Turn now to the Persian invasion. "The alarm at finding that no Peloponnesian force was assembled in Bœotia, the scanty time and scanty means for saving their families, the ravage of the whole country and burning of Athens—" How does Thucydides notice these supposed calamities? What is the expression of this clear and forcible historian? Μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά. (Lib. ii. c. 16.) Is it not purposely vague and feeble?

vaded Attica, the Athenians abandoned the open country, not for the third, but for the first time?

As for the battle of Salamis, a mere inspection of the whereabouts, or, as Aristotle calls it, the *ποῦ*, will satisfy us that Herodotus has endeavoured to put a whale in a butter-boat^a. A correct map is evidence enough that if the battle had taken place, a great number of the ships must have run aground: Herodotus mentions no such accident. The improbability, or rather the impossibility of the Persian fleet having acted as he describes, has already been noticed. Let us now turn our attention to the Greek marine. The Athenian navy

^a Mitford, in his account of the engagement between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans (Chap. xiii. sect. 3.) says, "the crews had recourse, as usual, to their boats." We are authorized, therefore, to give boats to the Persians, and to the Greek fleet, and thus diminish the very little space for action; but I must not take advantage of a mistake. The boats were in reality the hulls of the damaged ships. Yet even thus, it will appear, that the crews of the Persian ships might have saved themselves, if Herodotus had not found it convenient to give them a wonderful alacrity in sinking.

was manned * by landsmen, and seems to have been built by native talent. There was no lack of ships of war, but we are not told that there was one transport or store-ship, nor do we know that there were any pilots. Few nations would have thought of sending out an expedition under such circumstances. But let us see what happened after the engagements off Artemisium. "More than half the Attic squadron was disabled." The fleet, however, in its hasty retreat from Artemisium, made no stop till it arrived in the bay of Salamis. This of itself is sufficiently wonderful, and we

* Nausea is derived from a Greek word, signifying *ship*; but Herodotus cures all qualms, and turns land-lubbers into prime seamen. Buonaparte could not do this. Even on land his commands would not stand instead of experience. Does the reader remember "Jerome's report to his great brother, of two of his regiments having been lost in an attempt at charging the enemy, 'parce qu' ils manquaient, ces husards-là, l'habitude de monter à cheval' "? (Quarterly Review, No. 44.) "The Peloponnesians early found," says Mitford, "that a navy was not to be created so rapidly as some of their warmer politicians had promised them." (Chap. xiv. sect. 1.) But when Mitford says this, he is following Thucydides, not Herodotus.

must take for granted that the crews were thoroughly exhausted when they did arrive in the bay of Salamis. But if the Persians employed three days in refitting, three days more brought them to Phalerum, and by that time the Athenian women and children, cattle^a, &c. &c., had been conveyed to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene. That the Greeks neither repaired their ships, nor enjoyed themselves on shore after the arrival of the Persian fleet, is tolerably certain. The battle itself was no holiday-work for the men^b, neither did it help to

^a The cattle could not have been sent to Eubœa. Had they been left in Attica, they must have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

^b Mitford tells us that Themistocles reduced the complement of soldiers in each trireme to eighteen; of whom fourteen only were heavy armed, and four bowmen. He gives the numbers on the authority of Plutarch, but refers to Thucydides and Xenophon for confirmation. On the authority of Æschylus we might assert that the Athenians had no bowmen at all. Herodotus makes Themistocles state in one place that the Greek ships were heavier than those of the Persians (see his speech to Eurybiades), and in another, that the Athenians had 200 ships with their complement (*πεπληρωμέναι*, see his answer to Adeimantus); but there is nothing about reducing the number of soldiers. What Thucydides says in confirmation I know not;

put the disabled ships to rights. After the battle the Greeks drew the wreck on shore, and were ready to engage again. When day broke they found that the enemy was gone, and they pursued immediately as far as Andros : at Andros it was proposed to pursue the Persians to the Hellespont.

The battle of Salamis is supposed to have been fought on the 20th of October. Hesiod was a poet, so we will not quote his opinion about autumnal voyages ; but as the maritime superiority which the Athenians possessed in the time of Peri-

but he makes the brave and skilful Phormio, (Lib. ii. c. 89, &c. Mitford, Chap. xv. sect. 2.) when very greatly outnumbered by the enemy, afraid not of the open sea, but of want of sea-room, and consequently not of the same opinion as those who retreated to the strait of Salamis. If the reader will take the trouble to see how Phormio with only twenty ships opposed the Peloponnesian fleet of 77 ; how, in Mitford's words, the Peloponnesians "perseveringly avoided the open, and directed their endeavours to draw the Athenians into the narrow sea," and if he will compare the reasoning of Phormio with the reasoning of Themistocles, and indeed the whole engagement off Naupactus with that in the strait of Salamis, he will find some additional reasons for not believing Herodotus.

cles is said to have been the fruit of the care and labour of fifty years, the great difference between the naval operations of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars affords some reason for asserting that Thucydides does not agree with Herodotus.

The battle of Platæa remains to be noticed. The age of Homer was a brazen age, in more respects than one; but iron had come into use during the Persian war, and iron is said to have been the standard of value, and the current coin in Sparta. "War", said an aged and experienced king of Sparta, "is a business less of arms than of expense."^a It seems unlikely that arms for 50,000 men could have been procured in Sparta at a day's notice, for at Sparta arms must have been very expensive. After the battle of Plataea the Helots secreted a good deal of gold, which they sold to the Æginetans as brass. What the Æginetans could have given in payment we know not; but if the Helots thought

^a See the speech of Archidamus, (Mitford, Chap. xiii. sect. 5.)

it worth their while to steal brass, when abundance of rich clothes lay unregarded, would they not have run off with the iron of their arms? and when they were equipped for the expedition, might not each have fancied himself the Master of the Mint, or first Lord of the Treasury? Sparta was little better than a straggling village, according to Thucydides^{*}; yet, as we have seen, 35,000 men were assembled and armed, and marched off in the night, without the knowledge of the Athenian, Megarensian, and Plataean deputies, who were then in Sparta. The wall and mound across the Isthmus were the work of many myriads of Greeks; but there is some difference of opinion as to the construction of the latter. Herodotus explicitly states that something was done before the Peloponnesians began to build the wall. Mitford says, "their first business was to occupy, as an advanced post, the difficult passage of the Scironian rocks, another Ther-

^{*} Lib. i. c. 10.

mopylæ, by which was the only road immediately from Attica into Peloponnesus. Then with earnest diligence they set to form strong lines across the Isthmus.”* Larcher says, “Lorsqu’ ils furent à l’Isthme, ils bouchèrent avec de la terre le chemin de Sciron, et suivant la résolution prise dans le conseil, ils travaillèrent ensuite à fermer d’un mur l’Isthme d’un bout à l’autre.” Schweighæuser, in his lexicon, thus explains the words of the original: “συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν. Haud incommode redditur, *Obstruxerunt viam*; at non utique, ut Larcherus interpretatus est, *terrâ adgestâ*, in saxoso præsertim monte, sed saxorum, puta, ingenti congerie, quæ muniti valli rationem haberet, quo interclusa fuerit via, et prohibiti ascendentes; nisi potius intelligas *subrutam et dirutam esse via munitionem*, ita ut et fossis et ruinis intercepta via esset.” We may assent, however, that according to Herodotus the passage over the Scironian rocks was

* Chap. viii. sect. 5.

blocked up. The wall, although so many laboured at it with so much diligence, was not finished till after the second abandonment of Attica. It was composed of stones, and tiles, and logs, and baskets full of sand, and had a parapet or breastwork*. The Peloponnesians, therefore, might well feel secure that all the hosts of Persia could not force a passage over the isthmus.

But in building a house, an amateur architect is apt to forget the stair-case. And there is said to be one instance, at least, in which the entrance was forgotten. In shutting the Persians out, has not Herodotus contrived to shut the Peloponnesians in? Yet the messenger from the Argives to Mardonius met with no obstruction; the Peloponnesian army assembled at the isthmus, and Mardonius never thought of opposing their passage. The convoy of 500 beasts and their attendants, which the Persians surprised, came

* Herodotus, lib. ix. c. 6.

from Peloponnesus ; so that these laborious works must either have been pervious by some magic, some "open, Sesame!" or were originally constructed with a gate as wonderful as that of Alma's castle.

"For not of wood, nor of enduring brass,
But of more worthy substance framed it was :
Doubly disparted, it did locke and close,
That, when it locked, none might thorough pas,
And, when it opened, no man might it close ;
Still opened to their friendes, and closed to their foes."

According to Herodotus, Mardonius retreated from Attica to Scolos, a little town in the Theban territory. There, though the Thebans sided with the Persians, he wasted the lands, not, however, out of hostility to them, but compelled by great necessity, for he wished to make a strong hold for his army, and he made it a place of refuge for himself, in case he should be defeated. His camp extended from Erythræ to the country of the Plataeans along the river Asopus ; he did not however fortify the whole of it, but a space something more than a mile square. How Mardonius

managed to get intrenching tools, or how he managed to make so extensive an intrenchment without them, we are not told; we learn, however, that the Spartans, who got so cleverly out of the isthmus, could not get into his fortified camp, till the Athenians came up. The stoutest stickler for Herodotus will admit that the defences of the isthmus, and the camp of Mardonius, ought to be realities, and realities of such a size, that they who afterwards described what passed in those places, could not well avoid some notice of them. Does Thucydides acknowledge the works of the isthmus? In his account of the siege of Platæa^a, does he notice that the

^a The silence of Thucydides was not imitated by Mr. Burchell. Yet Lady Blarney's communications may have been nearly as correct as the account of the battle of Platæa. Demosthenes, in his oration *περὶ Συριάζων*, mentions "Perdiccas, who reigned in Macedon at the time of the barbarians' invasion, who fell on the barbarians in their retreat from the slaughter of Platæa, and completed the ruin of the king." I have given Leland's translation, though "fell on" seems too weak an expression for *διαφθίγειν*, and "slaughter" too strong an one for *ἔτελλεν*. The problem is to reconcile Herodotus and Demosthenes. Æschines characterises the fickleness

city had been burnt by Xerxes, or that an intrenched space of something more than a mile square existed in its neighbourhood?

Let us now notice the fleets and armies. The Greek army at Plataea mustered 38,700 freemen from more than twenty different states, and 69,700 slaves; and of this heterogeneous assembly, Pausanias, as yet unknown to fame, and known afterwards as a traitor, was the nominal commander. "*Qui vult decipi, decipiatur*,"—but let us not suppose that Thucydides vouches for such an army^a, or that in his opinion it could have all but annihilated 300,000 of the chosen troops of Persia, eager for fight,

of Callias, by making him more changeable than the Euripus, (see his Oration against Ctesiphon.) The difficulty of procuring ship-timber in Attica, is mentioned not only in a suspected oration of Demosthenes, (that on the treaty with Alexander,) but by the speech which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Jason of Thessaly. See Mitford, Chap. xxvii. sect. 1.

^a What should we think, if we were told that 10,000 Virginian slave-owners were coming at the head of 35,000 negro slaves, to fight for the independence of Canada?

abundantly supplied with every thing, and commanded by a valiant and experienced general ; not to mention 50,000 Greek free-men, who fought on their side. Themistocles told Adeimantus, in the debate which took place before the battle of Salamis, that the Athenians had 200 full ships. Pindar ^a gives the glory of the battle of Salamis to the Athenians, and the glory of the battle of Plataea to the Spartans. Let us examine the number of combatants which these two states were likely to furnish. Thucydides, whom we will take for our guide, has given us the amount of the largest army which the Athenians assembled in the whole course of the Peloponnesian war. In the autumn of the first year of that war, and consequently while Athens was in her most high and palmy state, the Athenians collectively, both the native citizens and the foreign residents, invaded Megaris. When the Athenians who were on board the fleet at Ægina,

^a 1st Pythian ode.

heard that the whole Athenian army was in Megaris, they returned and joined them. The Athenians themselves were not less than 10,000 men at arms, exclusively of 3,000 at Potidæa: the foreign residents were not less than 3,000 men at arms, and there was besides no small crowd of the light armed men. If we add the 3,000 who were at Potidæa, we shall have a force of 16,000 soldiers, besides the crowd. Let us compliment the crowd with the name of soldiers, and suppose it equal in number to the men at arms. We shall thus have a force of 32,000 men; and it must be admitted that the Athenians, even while Athens was flourishing, could not possibly have furnished a larger force.

Before the Persian war, Ægina was the dread of Athens; we cannot therefore suppose that Attica was richer, more populous, and more powerful at that time, than fifty or sixty years afterwards. The Athenians fitted out 127 ships at first, and 53 more joined the fleet after the first battle of Artemisium, so that they had no less than

180 altogether. More than half the squadron was disabled in the second battle; and consequently, if we rate the diminution of the Athenian force, by sickness, casualties, and deaths, at no more than 1,000 men, we shall be extremely moderate. 500 Athenians were taken prisoners in Attica, and sent to Samos by Xerxes. The Athenians who remained in Athens were slain, and the Peisistratid-Athenians were either the subjects or allies of Xerxes. Altogether, therefore, a considerable deduction must be made from the gross amount of the population of Attica. But according to Themistocles, the Athenians had 200 filled ships at Salamis; 180 are said to have been in the action; and it may be that Themistocles spoke in round numbers, or that the crews of the other 20 were in Salamis *, Ægina, and Trœzene, as

* Aristeides took Athenian soldiers from Salamis on board, before he attacked the Persians in Psyttaleia; but Herodotus does not mention the number taken, nor the number stationed at Salamis. He says only that Aristeides took many of them. Lib. ix. c. 95.

a necessary protection to the females and children. Still the crews of the 180 ships should amount to 36,000 men, a larger number by 4,000 than the largest that could have been sent against Megaris. But the difference in number is not the most important difference. The expedition against Megaris was an expedition by land, and it was a business less of fighting than of plunder. Almost all, therefore, would be willing, and almost all would be able; but it was not so easy to man the 180 ships that fought at Salamis.

The Athenians were opposed to the Phoenicians, to those who had the swiftest ships, and ought to have had the best seamen. Mere landmen, therefore, would have done as ill for the Athenian ships as for our own; the 36,000 seamen were but the chosen part of the whole male population.

“ Qui vult decipi, decipiatur ”; but let us not make Thucydides vouch for the wonders of the battle of Salamis. Let us look first at the map, let us consider the narrow-

ness of the strait of Salamis and the number and position of the isles or rocks. Let us examine into the means of Athens and the other Grecian states, and then let us read Herodotus and Mitford.

The Spartans are said to be the chief of the Pelasgi^a, and if we compare the remarkable doom of the Ammonites with what Herodotus and Dionysius^b have told us of the Pelasgi, we may allow that they have told some truth.

At present, however, we must confine ourselves to the Spartans, and consider what Thucydides, Xenophon, and Aristotle have told us of their population. Thu-

^a Herodotus, Lib. i. c. 56.

^b Dionysius found no traces of the Italian Larissa. The Lares were different from the Penates, and any *lair* or *leaguer* may represent a Larissa. Sparta, mean as it was, may yet have been the principal Larissa of the Pelasgi. Apollo had a temple and oracle at Claros, and the etymologist may connect the Latin *clarus*, with our *glare* and *flare*. Dionysius, in his Roman History, gives a very curious, and, but for the doom and character of the Ammonites, a very incredible account of the Pelasgi. The Pelasgi set up the first Grecian oracle; the Gipsies still tell fortunes.

cydides says, that the army of Agis was the finest Hellenic army which had been assembled hitherto. Xenophon says, that Sparta ~~was~~ the most thinly peopled of all the Greek towns; and both Thucydides and Xenophon have given accounts of the composition of the Lacedæmonian army, which, although they differ in particulars, agree in shewing that it was not numerous. According to Xenophon, the whole Lacedæmonian infantry^a amounted to 3,072; so that the population was then on the decline. Let us now hear Aristotle. According to him the Spartan territory, although sufficient to support 1,500 horsemen and 30,000 men at arms, did not support 1000; and the state did not withstand one reverse, but perished for want of men. In former times the Spartans were said to have amounted even to 10,000^b. 10,000, therefore, should be our maximum. What says Herodotus? In the campaign of the pre-

^a See Mitford. Chapter iv. sect. 3. Account of Lacedæmon.

^b De Republicâ. Lib. ii. c. 7.

ceding year Leonidas and his companions had fallen, and the Spartans had been engaged in two severe sea-fights at Artemisium, and in a third at Salamis. Leoty-chides conquered at Mycale the same day that Pausanias conquered at Plataea.

There were also 1000 Spartans at Megara, and yet there were 10,000 Spartans with Pausanias; and even if we reject the authority of Plato^a, we must admit that Sparta had not been left without some defence against the Argives, and Messenians, and Helots. Walls it had none; its defence, therefore, would have required a considerable body of men. The Spartans were unable to force their way into the fortified camp of Mardonius, until the

^a De Legibus, Lib. iii., where, as was noticed in the first part, he says that the Messenians attacked the Spartans. The same Plato asserts in his Menexenus, that Darius sent fifty myriads, or 500,000 men, under the command of Datis, against the Eretrians and Athenians. According to Pausanias, the Athenian army, men, striplings, and slaves, did not amount to more than 9,000. See Lib. x. c. 20. Strabo says that Miltiades utterly destroyed the army of Datis. Æschylus makes the chorus in the Persæ represent Darius as uniformly successful. He was πανταρχής, ἀνάκας, ἄμαχος.—

Athenians joined in the assault, and mounted and broke down the wall. Let us learn from Thucydides what degree of proficiency in this art the Athenians had attained fifty or sixty years afterwards. Deceleia was but 120 stadia, or about fifteen miles from Athens, and the occupation of it by the Spartans caused very great * annoyance and loss to the Athenians. They had every motive for exertion ; but they never took Deceleia.

* A little circumstance may serve to exemplify the difference between history and romance. Thucydides has thought it worth while to notice that owing to the occupation of Deceleia, the Athenians were obliged to import their corn from Eubœa by water-carriage. Herodotus makes his Athenians endure very great hardships without any apparent inconvenience.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORICAL PROPHECIES OF DANIEL ^a.

Καί μοι δοκεῖ μεγίστην θεὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ φύσιν ἀποδείξαι τὴν
Ἀλήθειαν,

. . . Καὶ ποτὲ μὲν παραχρῆμα δείκνυσιν τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν, ποτὲ
δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισκοτισθεῖσα, τέλος αὐτὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐπικράτει—

POLYBIUS, Lib. xiii.

“BEHOLD there shall stand up yet three kings, and the fourth shall be far richer than *they* all; and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.”^b Our riper age seldom is altogether free from the prepossessions of our boyhood, and our translators, having

^a As all prophecy is connected with history, historical prophecies may seem as tautological an expression as Hume's sceptical doubts; but some such expression is necessary as the professed object of this inquiry is history and not religion.

^b Chapter xi. v. 2.

apparently taken for granted that this rich king was Xerxes, have not shewn their usual accuracy.

“He shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.” What is there in the original to authorise the word “against”? Is it the particle *κα*? If this particle is to be considered as a preposition, should it not rather be rendered by “with”? If it is not to be considered as a preposition, will not its sense be fitly rendered by “the”? (“He shall stir up all the realm.”) And is not this the meaning which the Greek translators have given it? (*Ἐπαναστήσεται πάσαις βασιλείαις.*) “The realm of Grecia.” The original says the realm of Iun, or, according to the vowel-points, of Javan. Of the seven sons of Japhet there are two whose descendants are particularly mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis. The sons of Gomer were three in number, and the sons of Javan four. We are not told that these, or any of the descendants of Japhet, built towns, like the descendants of Ham and Shem, we are

told only that "by these," i. e. the sons of Japhet, "were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations." The Greeks themselves did not lay claim to a priority in agriculture, nor pretend that the goddess of corn was descended from their Autochthones^a. "The barbarians are more ancient than we," says Socrates, in Plato's *Cratylus*. "It appears, from a strong concurrence of circumstances recorded by antient writers," says Mitford, "that the early inhabitants of Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece, were the same people."^b Why, then, are we to confine Javan to Greece? Abraham and Lot separated because the land was not able to bear them that they might dwell together. Pastoral tribes still require a large tract of country, but by the land of Javan, one of

^a Athens was the mother of the arts and sciences. Very true, if so be that the moon is the mother of sunshine. The Elgin marbles show the skill not of one age but of centuries. We talk of Pericles and Phidias, but we forget Solomon and Hiram.

^b Mitford, *Chapter i. sect. 4.*

those seven by whom the isles of the Gentiles were divided, we are to understand a country, which was ^a “scarcely half so large as England, and not equal to a fourth of France or Spain,” which, with all its glory and consequence, was “lost in a single province of the Roman empire.” ^b

“Behold there shall yet stand up three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all.” Let us see how this fourth king is made the same as Xerxes. The three which were yet to stand up are said to be Cambyses, Smerdis, and Darius. As Smerdis was an usurper and impostor, and as his reign lasted but seven months, it may seem strange that the angel has

^a Mitford, Chapter i. sect. 1.

^b Gibbon, Vol. i. chapter 1. When the artist of the island of Barataria increased the number of the caps, he diminished their size; but although we fill Greece with heroes, demigods, gods and goddesses, so that they

“ in narrow room
Throng numberless,”

we have not as yet

“ to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense.”

numbered him among the kings of Persia. But what shall we do with Cambyses? If he is not the same as Nebuchadnezzar, must we not make Nebuchadnezzar the same as Labynetus? Nine kings are said to have reigned after Xerxes; in what part of the prophecy shall we find any allusion to them? Seventy weeks, or 490 years, are all that we can allow from the going forth of the commandment to restore and rebuild Jerusalem unto the Messiah, and if we believe the prophecies of Isaiah, we cannot well refuse to date the seventy weeks from the reign of Cyrus; for it is Jehovah himself, who saith of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying unto Jerusalem, 'thou shalt be built;' and to the Temple, 'thy foundations shall be laid.'" The death of Alexander is dated from the 324th year B.C. and consequently the reigns of Cyrus and of the three kings who preceded Xerxes, and of Xerxes himself, and of the nine kings who followed him, must be comprised in limits ridiculously narrow. We

find, moreover, that a space of fifty-eight years is made to intervene between the sixth and seventh chapters of Ezra, and although Ezra calls himself the son of Seraiah, and correctness in genealogy was essential at that time, we are told that Ezra could not be the immediate son of Seraiah*. The book of Esther contains very remarkable matters, and what is no less remarkable, none of the prophets acknowledge it. The Ahasuerus of Esther must be one of the nine kings who succeeded Xerxes. If Smerdis is mentioned, why should Ahasuerus be omitted?

Is it worth while to take liberties with Revelation for the sake of bolstering up Herodotus? The heathens themselves acknowledged the controlling and inflexible power of the Fates; are Christians to try to invalidate those oracles which even the heathens revered? Yet how shall we make the fourth king of Persia the same

* I quote from the notes to the Family Bible. The reader will excuse my not quoting from the original authors, as I have them not.

as Xerxes, if we are guided by Scripture?

The fourth king was to be far richer than the other kings. It is no easy matter to shew that Xerxes was far richer than his predecessors. That the revenue of Xerxes was not equal to his expenditure is evident, and we read nothing about ^a loans, and national debt, and sinking fund. If, therefore, Xerxes really was able to stir up all against the realm of Grecia, his ways and means did not arise out of his own savings, but out of the savings of his father; and surely we are not to take for granted that the man who spends money is far richer than the man who heaps it up.

The supposition, therefore, that Xerxes and the fourth king are the same, is liable

^a "It appears to have been the common practice of antiquity, to make provision, during peace, for the necessities of war, and to hoard up treasures before hand," &c. Hume on Public Credit. I make this quotation and reference, lest the modern practice of mortgaging the public revenues should be thought a part of the Persian polity.

to great objections. We will wave them all. Take for granted that Xerxes was this rich king. Take for granted that he invaded Greece. What follows? The ram pushed westward and northward and southward, so that no beast might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will and became great! Search the sacred books; see if in any part of them there is the slightest warrant for the defeat of Xerxes; but let us not halt between two opinions; let us not take our character of the Persians from Herodotus, and yet maintain that we believe the bible. One fact, though distorted by Grecian vanity, may be found in Grecian history. By the peace of Antalcidas, the Greek cities of Asia became tributary to the king of Persia, and in the intrigues and revolutions of the Greeks, the gold of Persia was often the chief agent. So far, therefore, we have evidence from the Greeks themselves, that a king of Persia

did, by his strength, through his riches stir up all the realm of Javan.

Who then are the four kings? Their names are given in sacred history. Cyrus, or the Xerxes of the Greeks, was succeeded by Ahasuerus; Ahasuerus by Artaxerxes; Artaxerxes by Darius; and Darius by another Artaxerxes; and thus we find that Ezra made no mistake, when he called himself the son of Seraiah. But which of these kings is the Ahasuerus of Esther? No one. Josephus is thought a veracious writer, because he was not a Christian; and so far he was veracious, that he did not falsify for the mere sake of falsifying, but followed the sacred writings when Christianity did not interfere. Daniel, Obadiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi;—which of these prophets is to vouch for the fall of Haman, and the great deliverance of the Jews? Ezra, Nehemiah;—which of these historians tells us any thing of Mordecai and Esther? As for the book itself, what resemblance has it

to sacred history? Its author is not known, its chronology is so false, that the date, which Dean Prideaux and Bishop Tomline have fixed upon as the most probable, is the date which Eusebius and Jerome rejected^a.

“It has been remarked, that the name of God is not mentioned throughout the book.”^b It may be remarked, also, that neither prayer nor thanksgiving is mentioned throughout the book. Esther fasted. The holy Daniel fasted, but he prayed also. Daniel would not defile himself by eating forbidden food. Esther concealed her lineage, and of course did defile herself. Mordecai commanded her not to shew her kindred or nation. Mordecai, however, was known to be a Jew, and Esther had been brought up by him. During the

^a See *Chronicorum Liber Posterior*. Jerome did not merely translate the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, so that when we follow the Latin version, we may be said to have the authority of both the writers. In the Greek we have but too often no other authority than Scaliger's.

^b See *Family Bible*. Introduction to the book of Esther.

long period of Esther's purification ^a, Mordecai walked every day before the court of the women's house, to know how Esther did. Are we to believe that the kindred and people of Esther could have been unknown?

But the fast of Esther, and the festival of Purim are still commemorated. Is not this a proof that these things were really so, that the book of Esther relates what had actually happened? We learn from Ezra that the second temple was finished on the third day of the month of Adar ^b, and that the dedication of it was kept with joy. Search Josephus for a fit notice of this dedication, and you will

^a Such is the expression of the writer, though a Persian purification ought to have been an abomination to a Jew.

^b A few days must have intervened between the finishing of the building, and the festival of the dedication. The feast of Purim is celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the month of Adar, so that it, and the festival of the dedication of the second temple are probably the same; else why did Josephus omit to notice Ezra's dedication? Compare Ezra and Josephus, and you will see that the mistakes of Josephus were mistakes made on purpose.

search in vain. Look at a decree of Honorius and Theodosius, you will find strong proof, that by exulting over Haman, the Jews meant to exult over our blessed Saviour. Haman was next in power to Ahasuerus, yet Haman was an Amalekite. Read what the Scripture tells us of the doom of Amalek, and you will find that if the book of Esther is not acknowledged by the sacred Prophets nor by the sacred Historians, it nevertheless is so far connected with prophecy, that it contradicts the oracles of God.

“ And a mighty king shall stand up that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.” Here we have no doubt : Alexander of Macedon, the leopard of the prophetic vision, the brazen kingdom of the dream, is easily recognized. But how brief is the notice ! The extraordinary northern campaign of Alexander, the no less extraordinary visit to Jerusalem, the invasion of India, the siege of Tyre, and the magnificence displayed at Babylon, not to mention other exploits, should claim a

greater distinction for Alexander. In comparison of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, is he to be but as brass to gold and silver? Are we to be satisfied with so brief a notice?

Let us examine the classical authorities; for Arrian has told us, that there is no one concerning whom authors more in number, and more discordant, have written. We do not possess the narratives of Ptolemy and Aristobulus^a; the license of historical romance has not been sufficiently ample for the Latin author, to whom we

^a Our grief need not be extreme, for we do possess the means of estimating these lost narratives. Alexander's expedition to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, is a very remarkable part of the romance of his life, and we might expect that Ptolemy and Aristobulus would have given us some valuable information. According to Ptolemy, two serpents preceded Alexander; according to Aristobulus, whom, as Arrian says, the majority of authors followed, two crows performed this office. According to Aristobulus Alexander returned the same way that he went; according to Ptolemy he made a short cut in the direction of Memphis. Strabo, (see lib. 15.) observes, "If they who accompanied Alexander, differed so much in their account of what they saw, what are we to think when they relate what they heard?"

have given the name of Quintus Curtius ; and Megasthenes appears to have been still more extravagant. But we do possess Arrian, and Arrian is high in our estimation. Let us see how much he is worth, and I may request the reader's attention to the following observations, for they are none of mine.

“ In Mr. Mitford's narrative of Alexander's warfare with the barbarous nations on the confines of Macedonia, there appear several contradictions and improbabilities, which the historian has not attempted to reconcile or explain. Parmenio, (we are informed, p. 60,) Philip's ablest general, was entrusted with the defence of Macedonia against the Illyrians, whilst the king himself commanded the army destined to act against the freebooters. In page 113, however, we are told that during Alexander's wars with the northern people, Parmenio maintained himself in Æolia, with the small force which had been placed under his orders by Philip. It is impossible that both these accounts can be true.

“ In the account of Alexander's subsequent attack upon the freebooters, the most glaring improbabilities are gravely narrated ; not only without ex-

amination, but apparently without suspicion. The freebooters, joined by their allies the Thracians, had taken up a strong position on the verge of a declivity, where the road was inclosed by precipices. They had entrenched themselves behind one rampart of waggons, and had placed another row in front, which they intended to set in motion, and roll upon their assailants. Alexander ordered some of his soldiers to shelter themselves behind projecting rocks, and others to lie down, covered by their shields, till the descending waggons had passed over them.

“ This strange manœuvre completely succeeded, if we give credit to Arrian ; but if we listen to the sober suggestions of common sense, we must discredit the whole account. In the first place, the waggons, if the freebooters and their allies possessed a particle of sense, would not have been set in motion until the assailants were so near, as to preclude the possibility of their performing the double evolution required, of falling down, and covering themselves with their shields.

“ Is it at all credible, even supposing that time were allowed them for adjusting their position and their armour, that their shields, formed only to defend a part of the body, would cover the whole man with an impenetrable crust, over which pon-

derous waggons would roll harmless? These objections will occur to the attentive reader, even if he is not startled at the absurdity of supposing that these freebooters were in possession of wheel carriages, in a country where not a wheel could pass! In a district mountainous, rugged, impracticable, or, as the Greeks would have described it, in one expressive epithet, ἀναμάξευτος. Mr. Mitford, on other occasions, and when guided by other authors, freely indulges in scepticism; a little of it might, we think, be applied here with advantage. The whole account of Alexander's wars with the barbarous nations adjoining Macedonia, has, indeed, an air of fable, which renders it very suspicious. We are required to believe, on the testimony of Arrian, (who lived more than 400 years after the events which he describes,) that the monarch followed up this success by making incursions into the territory of the Triballians; that he crossed the Danube, and invaded the country of the Getæ or Goths, took their capital, and reduced them to submission; that he then, rapidly retracing his steps, and facing the enemy on the other side of his dominions, entered Illyria, and on that extremely difficult ground, succeeded in discomfiting his opponents. Here we have an account of an immense tract of country, and five na-

tions of a warlike and determined character, traversed and subdued, in a space of time almost too short for the unobstructed march of an army. Surely such accounts should be received with extreme distrust." Quarterly Review of Mitford's History of Greece, No. 49. Article 8.

What are we to think of Arrian? Are we to prefer him to the sure word of prophecy? Shall we believe that Tyre^a underwent a second siege, and that Babylon^b

^a When the Ghebers of Herat complained that their temple had been burnt, 4000 grave citizens swore that it had never existed. (See Gibbon, Vol. ix. Chap. 51.) Herodotus, however, had the evidence of his own eyes. "Le voyage qu' Hérodote fit à Tyr, nous offre un autre exemple non moins frappant de l'exactitude de ses recherches," says Larcher. Let us see in what this *exactitude* consisted.—"Il se transporta à Tyr pour y voir un Temple d' Hercules, que l'on disoit très ancien. On lui apprit dans cette ville qu' il y avoit 2,300 ans que ce temple avoit été bâti." So that the "recherches" of Herodotus would lead us to contradict the Scriptural account of the siege and fall and desolation of Tyre. Poetry is a more philosophical thing than history, says Aristotle. Virgil, in his account of Helenus and the mock Troy, seems to hint at an event, of which Herodotus chose to be ignorant; to wit, the restoration of the Tyrians.

^b Major Keppel found nothing at Babylon, to remind him of Alexander and his court; but he found strong evidence of

became once more the seat of empire? As for the visit to Jerusalem, it is unnecessary to extract the account of Josephus for it has found a place in the late life of Alexander. It is, however, necessary to make a few remarks. Alexander prostrated himself before the high priest. When Parmenio asked the reason of so unexpected a humiliation, Alexander answered,—“I did not prostrate myself before him, but before the God, with whose priesthood he is honoured. For while I was as yet at Dium in Macedonia, I saw him in the same dress in my dreams.” Indeed! Are we then to

the truth of prophecy. Mr. Williams says that Mr. Fynes Clinton “overlooked the winter passed in the mountains between Cabul and the Indus, and hence was obliged to add a year to the residence at Babylon.” (Preface.) If Alexander had really passed a winter in such a situation, Mr. Fynes Clinton would hardly have overlooked it. A Greek is said to have observed; that if Alexander were dead, the whole earth would have smelt the carcase; yet the campaigns of this great conqueror have not been marked by their effects. It is “whimsical enough,” says Gibbon, “that the orders of a Mogul khan, who reigned on the borders of China, should have lowered the price of herrings in the English market.” The fact, however, may teach us that every great conquest has extensive effects.

believe that God the Father (for Josephus did not acknowledge the divinity of God the Son,) appeared in the likeness of the High Priest?^a

Alexander "went up to the temple, and sacrificed to God, according to the direction of the High Priest." So far Josephus. Mr. Williams adds, "It may easily be shewn, that the time fixed by him is a mistake; but of the occurrence of the visit there can be entertained no rational doubt. The behaviour of Alexander is the same as in all similar cases, and according to his maxim:—"To pay the highest reverence to the priesthood of every country, and to invoke the gods of every nation."

Alexander, as we are told, had seen the vision of Jehovah, and knew and sacrificed to the true and only God. He nevertheless invoked the gods of every nation, and ordered himself to be called the son of Jupiter.

What said the Almighty to Cyrus?

"I am the LORD, and there is none else,

^a See what the prophet Malachi says of the priests.

there is no God beside me. I girded thee, though thou hast not known me. That they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me. I am the LORD, and there is none else." How did Cyrus act? He overthrew the idols, and restored Jerusalem.

"And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled; for his dominion shall be plucked up, even for others beside those." Lysimachus, king of Thrace; Cassander, king of Macedon; Seleucus, king of Syria; Ptolemy, king of Egypt; here we have no^a difficulty, but we must now prepare ourselves for a minute inquiry.

"And the king of the south shall be strong, and *one* of his princes, and he shall

^a They, however, who have examined the subject carefully, must know that Arrian, Appian, Justin, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus, are but blind guides.

be strong above him, and have dominion : his dominion shall be a great dominion.”

According to the notes of the Family Bible the king of the south is Ptolemy king of Egypt ; but instead of “ *one* of his princes, and he shall be strong above him,” we are told to read “ *one* of his princes shall be strong above him,” and to apply the passage to Seleucus, who is said to be afterwards styled king of the north, and to have been strong above Ptolemy. The alteration is of great importance ; let us examine the grounds of it. “ The passage may be so rendered after the Greek version.” But is the Greek version, or any version of authority enough to alter the sense of the original ? Had the Hebrew text been corrupted, or ambiguous, we should have a good reason for the change, and in cases of difficulty we are glad of the assistance of the Septuagint ; but in this instance the commentator seems to have abandoned the original without just cause.*

* A very slight alteration will make the Hebrew text accord with the Greek version ; but why should we disturb the Hebrew text ?

“ At the end of years they shall join themselves together, for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement.” If the king of the south is Ptolemy, we should imagine that the king of the north would be Lysimachus; but we have already been told that the king of the north is Seleucus, and the explanation of the present passage is this. Ptolemy, the second king of Egypt, made peace with Antiochus, the third king of Syria; and Antiochus, in consequence, put away his wife Laodice, and married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy: but apparently no one goes so far as to assert that Berenice came to Antiochus to make an agreement. “ But she shall not retain the power of the arm,” that is*, Berenice did not retain the affections of her husband; a strange explanation, and nearly sufficient to prove that the king of the

* The Family Bible, by Bishop Mant and Dr. D'Oyley, is in such general use, that my brief manner of quoting the explanatory notes will hardly mislead the reader; but I take this opportunity to mention that I rely upon his referring to the Family Bible.

south does not mean an individual, but a kingdom, or nation, and that the king's daughter means not a woman, but a colony of the parent state, and that the power of the arm means the power of empire.

“Neither shall he stand, nor his arm,” that is, Antiochus was poisoned by Laodice, and “his arm,” his son by Berenice, did not succeed him; “his arm,” however, his son by Laodice, did succeed him. “But she shall be given up, and they that brought her;” that is, Berenice and her Egyptian women. We are told, however, that Ptolemy himself brought Berenice to Antiochus. “And he that begat her,” or, according to the marginal reading, “he, whom she brought forth,” that is, her son, the same person who has already been described as “his arm.” “And he that strengthened her in *these* times.” This is supposed to mean her father, who had died before Antiochus ventured to recall his former wife, and before Berenice ceased to retain the power of the arm, and who could

not be said to be given up, if he had died, as it is said, of old age.

“ But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up.” This is said to mean Ptolemy Evergetes, the brother of Berenice. We will grant that the brother of Berenice was a branch of the roots of Berenice; but what says the text? “ Out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up.” If Ptolemy was the branch, how could he be the one who stood up out of the branch?

So far it seemed necessary to proceed, that we might ascertain whether the theory would work well: let us now return to the foundation and examine it more closely. The kings of Egypt, and the kings of Syria are said to have been called the kings of the south and the kings of the north in respect of their situation to Judæa; and the king of the south is said to have been strong, because Ptolemy annexed Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria, and many islands, and cities, and regions, and Cyrene also, to Egypt. Our authorities for this part of

history are worth so little, that it is best to take the statement as we find it. If, however, the king of the south possessed Phœnicia and Caria, could Seleucus be called the king of the north, even in respect of Judea? In other respects he was king of the east, and Lysimachus was king of the north.

Seleucus is said to have been strong above Ptolemy, because he annexed the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace to the crown of Syria. Seleucus, however, did not make war upon Lysimachus till after the death of Ptolemy, and he can scarcely be said to have annexed Thrace and Macedon to the crown of Syria, for very soon after his conquest he was slain by Ptolemy Céraunus, son of the first Ptolemy and brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Can Seleucus be said to have been strong above Ptolemy, by reason of conquests, which were not made till after Ptolemy's death? But how is it shewn that Seleucus is at all alluded to in the fifth verse? Our only authority is that of the Greek version,

which, by omitting a conjunction, alters the sense of the Hebrew text ; but even so we gain little ground : the king of the north is not mentioned till the next verse, and then we find that he is not to be Seleucus, nor the immediate successor of Seleucus, but Antiochus Theus, the third king of Syria. Is not this a puzzle rather than an explanation ? On this principle, however, on the assumption that the kings of the south and north are the kings of Egypt and Syria, the interpretation proceeds to the thirtieth verse. To scrutinize it verse by verse would weary the reader. They who feel interested in the subject can consult the original authorities, and see whether the interpretation is true to the history of those times. A few further remarks, however, may be allowed because the subjects are of consequence. The first book of Maccabees *

* According to the book of Maccabees, the Romans were allies and good friends of the Jews. Tacitus, however, recognizes no such alliance or friendship. If we were to attempt to correct Roman history by the book of Maccabees, we should be laughed at ; yet we admit this same book as an authority in interpreting Scripture. When the Jews acknowledge this

is referred to as an authority. Now if that strange work is to be depended upon, we must admit that Antiochus Epiphanes placed the abomination that maketh desolate^a. But the interpreter tells us that it was placed by Hadrian. The date assigned to the fulfilment of the thirtieth verse is about 168 B.C. The date assigned for placing the abomination, which is mentioned in the very next verse is the year of our Lord 132; an interval of nearly three centuries. But is not this latter date contradicted by the highest of all authorities, the words of our Lord? "When ye, therefore, see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet stand in the holy place; (whoso readeth let him understand;) then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains." Do

book as an authentic and true history, it will be time enough for us to acknowledge it. At present we seem liable to the reproach in the fable of Phædrus.

Quantæ putatis esse vos dementiæ,

Qui capita vestra non dubitatis credere,

Cui calceandos nemo commisit pedes?

^a Maccabees, Chapter i. verse 54.

not these and the following words imply, that the disciples of our Lord, that Christians would be in great and immediate danger when the abomination of desolation stood in the holy place? It seems, however, that when Hadrian erected a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in Jerusalem, the Christians suffered little or nothing; although their enemies, the Jews, suffered greatly. Most of the Nazarenes "renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had persevered above a century." "By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices," adds the same historian, "they purchased a free admission into the colony of Hadrian, and more firmly cemented their union with the Catholic church."^a

Again: Hadrian is said to have taken away the daily sacrifice. The lamb and every other sacrificed animal were but types originally. What virtue do they

^a Gibbon, Vol. ii. chap. 15. Bp. Horsley, in his controversy with Dr. Priestley, says, "it is a notorious fact that Adrian was not unfavourable to the Christians. The Church, in his reign, obtained a respite from persecution." See Remarks upon Second Letters, pp. 367, 8.

possess now? What virtue did they possess in the time of Hadrian? "This is my body."—"This is my blood," said our blessed Saviour, when he gave the bread and wine to the Apostles. What had Christians to do with any other type? Did not the lamb, which was but a type originally, cease to be even a type when the sacrament of the Lord's supper was instituted?

Lastly, the words of the angel are very expressive. "But thou O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book to the time of the end"——

"Go thy way, Daniel, for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end." Can we expect to understand this prophecy, if the time of the end has not arrived? In the fortieth verse it is said, "and at the time of the end the king of the south shall push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind."

Here, therefore, we have a test of the correctness of an interpretation. Is the

king of the south the king of Egypt? Is the king of the north the king of Syria? Why have the commentators stopt short? Can they have been right in the explanation of the former verses? Could they have opened what was closed up and sealed?

Let us try a different plan. Egypt was always to be the basest of the kingdoms; and even Arrian bears witness to the fact, by observing "the Romans—taught, as I think, by the example of Alexander, to be on their guard with respect to Egypt—never appointed its proconsul from the senatorian, but from the equestrian rank."^a We will take the fact without the comment. The prophecy has been strictly fulfilled; the heathens bear testimony to its accomplishment. Why is the king of Egypt to be the king of the south? When the notice of Alexander is so brief^b, why

^a Life of Alexander, p. 147. Arrian, Lib. iii.

^b According to Photius, or the author who borrowed his name, Arrian wrote ten books about the successors of Alexander; and yet, if we may judge by the remarks of the critic, Arrian made very little progress in their history.

have we so much about the Ptolemies? May not the king of the north mean the Gothic nations, and the king of the south the Roman empire, the fourth beast of the prophetic vision, the iron legs of the great image? Let us try the principle. "The king of the south shall be strong, and *one* of his princes." The Romans conquered Macedon. "And he shall be strong above him." The Roman empire was greater than the empire of Alexander. "His dominion shall be a great dominion." The Roman empire was truly a great dominion. "At the end of years." Does not this allude to a distant time, probably to the time of the end? Shall we not do well to postpone the examination of this and the two next verses for the present?

"So^a the king of the south shall come into *his* kingdom, and return into his own

^a The Hebrew particle may be rendered by *so*, but its general sense is *and*. This is mentioned lest the reader should attach a force to the *so* and *then* of our translation. The Septuagint, in this and other places, is content with *καὶ*.

land.” As “his” is printed in italics, we know that we are at liberty to omit it, and its omission will make the application still closer. The Romans overran the world; they possessed the kingdom, but Rome^a continued to be the capital of the empire. Antony, indeed, may be said to have established himself in Egypt, but he soon fell, and Augustus reigned alone in Italy.

“ But his sons shall be stirred up and shall assemble a multitude of great forces, and *one* shall certainly come and overflow and pass through: then shall he return and be stirred up even to his fortress. And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north, and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand. *And* when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down *many* ten thousands; but

^a Both Julius Cæsar and Augustus are suspected of intending to change the capital.

he shall not be strengthened *by it*. For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south : also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision ; but they shall fall. So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities ; and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him ; and he shall stand in the land of ornament, which by his hand shall be consumed." In one instance only, the common text has been changed for the marginal reading * ; *the land of ornament* has

* To give an exact and critical version of the original is beyond my ability ; to examine the different accounts of the wars between the Romans and the Goths would require much

been put for *the glorious land*, for why should we not follow the Hebrew text? The expression is plain, and easy of application. Italy is still the land of *virtù*, and seems to have been so from a very early period. The Etruscan vases are of undoubted antiquity, so are the contents of the mounds of the antient Tarquinii, and Pæstum may yet serve to mark what Magna Græcia was.

time and labour. Gibbon is almost always learned, but he is sometimes not accurate, and he is frequently obscure. I have ventured, however, to trust to the importance and magnitude of the subjects notwithstanding these disadvantages. Few will deny that the wars between the Romans and the Goths were of great importance to the whole world, and that they may, therefore, claim that notice from prophecy, which the wars and squabbles between the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ do not deserve. The magnitude of the subjects is such, that petty inaccuracies and mistakes will not destroy the general resemblance.

Ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ Σαβιῆ is the Greek version. Numa, the great regulator of Roman idolatry, was a Sabine, and the Σαβιῆ of the Septuagint is an adoption, rather than a translation of the Hebrew word. The worship of Vesta and of the eternal fire find a place in every Roman history, so that Italy may be called the land of Tsabi or Tsebi from its idolatry of fire or Zabianism.

That the Goths did at last stand in Italy and consume it, is a fact of general notoriety ; and their defeats by Trajan, Claudius, Aurelian, and Stilicho, are sufficient proof that the struggle was long and deadly, and accompanied with great changes of fortune.

In the outline, therefore, the resemblance is strong ; the subject itself is copious and of great importance, so copious and so important, indeed, that it may seem to require a fuller notice. We no longer need to enter into details and trifles, as in the supposed notice of Berenice ; we have a mere though a strong outline, as in the notice of Alexander and his successors ^a.

^a The reader may observe, with justice, that I have passed over several things which require discussion : my excuse is that he would have found the discussion very tedious, and that my main object is to try the principle ; to see if by considering the fourth beast as the king of the south we may find our way to the true application. We will discuss one point, however, to show how much labour will be necessary before this very important prophecy can be interpreted critically. " Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision ; but they shall fall." " The robbers of thy people." According to the margin, " the children of robbers of thy people." According to Bishop

“ He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and

Newton, “ the children of breakers of thy people,” or, the factious Jews, who revolted from Ptolemy, and who fell, because they were subdued by Scopas. But how shall we ascertain that the Jews deserved to be characterized as factious and revolters? Josephus mentions that Antiochus having conquered Ptolemy, *τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσάγειται* (Lib. xii. cap. 3.); but the strongest sense that can be given to such an expression will not authorize us to say that on this account the angel Gabriel designated the Jews as “ the children of robbers,” or “ children of breakers.” As for the factions of the Jews, had they the power to be quiet, when their country was made the seat of war? But take for granted that the Jews were the liege subjects of the king of Egypt; that they belonged to “ the basest of the kingdoms”; that they acted wickedly in joining Antiochus: who are said to be the “ upright ones” mentioned in the seventeenth verse? The Jews forsooth. Antiochus is said to have consumed their country, they are said to have done wrong in joining him, and yet these children of robbers, or of breakers, are the same as the upright ones! Take for granted that this also is correct; can you shew that the circumstances are of general importance, or even of as much importance as that capture of Jerusalem and that leading away into captivity, which are ascribed to the first Ptolemy, and to which this prophecy has not been made to allude? Will you believe or disbelieve Josephus? Can you find any testimony, either sacred or profane, to which you can confidently appeal for the truth of the explanation which is given in the notes? Apply this part of the prophecy to the attempted rebuilding of the temple of

upright ones with him ; thus shall he do : and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her : but she shall not stand *on his side*, neither be for him. After this shall he turn his face to the isles and take many : but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease ; without his own reproach he shall cause *it* to turn upon him.” There are difficulties in the application ; but we know that Adolphus, king of the Goths, married Placidia, daughter of the great Theodosius and sister to Honorius, and “ the eventful story of her life,” is so connected with the history of her times, that we might expect an allusion to it. That

Jerusalem, consider how often the Jews refused to render unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar’s, and you will have less difficulty in understanding how they were the children of robbers, or breakers, in the time of Julian, and how they exalted themselves to establish the vision, and how they fell. Insert the article before robbers or breakers, and the expression, “ the children of the robbers,” or, “ of the breakers of thy people” will remind you of the Romans ; and in the vain attempt of the apostate Julian, you will find a still closer application.

the Goths did turn their face to the isles, and penetrate to Spain and establish a kingdom there, is well known. Their power was checked by Clovis and his Franks, and the conversion of Clovis may explain the words "without his own reproach."

"Then * he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble, and fall, and not be found." Theodoric established a Gothic kingdom in Italy, the capital of which was not Rome, but Ravenna, and occasionally Verona. May not the Goths be said, therefore, to have turned their face toward the fort of their own land? The ruin of their power in Italy, and subsequently in Spain, also

* Here, also, we have a proof of the necessity of attending closely to the words of the original. "Then" implies "afterwards," and we should therefore make this verse apply to subsequent events; but as the Hebrew article literally means "and," the verse may apply to cotemporary events; and, as in prophecy, the order of time is not observed strictly, it may apply to preceding events. According to Parkhurst, the Hebrew particle may be rendered in many different ways, and of course the meaning of the sentence may be influenced accordingly; but if the Greek translators were content with καὶ, we, whose language is less copious, may be content with "and."

may explain the stumbling, and falling, and not being found. “Then ^a shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes *in* the glory of his kingdom, but within few days he shall be destroyed neither in anger nor in battle.” It was the savage boast of Attila, that the grass never grew where his horse had trodden; yet this ferocious king of the Huns oppressed the Roman empire as an exactor or raiser of contributions rather than as a conqueror. The vast sums which he exacted under different pretences are mentioned in history, and though he died suddenly he was destroyed neither in anger nor in battle. But Attila perished before the Gothic kingdom was established by Theodoric, and perhaps ^b it will be bet-

^a Literally “and.”

^b *Perhaps*; for we should determine previously, whether a chronological order is strictly observed in this prophecy. But let me again mention that my explanations are attempts, and merely attempts. I certainly maintain that the king of the south is not the king of Egypt, and that the king of the north is not the king of Syria, and I think also that the history of the fourth beast, or Roman empire, forms an important part of the prophecy; but although I may be right in the principle, I may be wrong in the application.

ter to follow the order of history and endeavour to apply the verse to Alboin, king of the Lombards. Our own Lombard Street reminds us of the singular history of the Lombards, and their connexion with money-brokers : Alboin was the hero of his race ; he did not fall in war ; and although he was murdered, neither of the conspirators seems to have borne any anger against him ; one of the two, though the most instrumental and powerful, was a very unwilling agent ^a.

Hitherto we have had to make our way through dark and troubled periods, and have been embarrassed by the very nature of the subject, the history of obscure and barbarous nations ; but we have reached the downfall of the iron legs, and consequently should prepare for a new era.

Our Reformers had so much cause to dread the corrupt doctrines and persecuting spirit of popery, that we need not be sur-

^a See Gibbon, for the history of Attila, and for that of Alboin.

prized if they sometimes strained and mis-applied the language of prophecy. What had popery to do with the corruptions of the Greek church or with the profanation of Jerusalem and of the seven churches of Asia? If we can clearly shew that the Bishop of Rome is designated as the little horn arising out of the ten horns, surely we prove enough, and may allow that Mahometanism is still worse than popery.

It is now more than 1200 years since Mahomet announced himself as a prophet, and endeavoured to unite Christianity, Judaism, and Zabianism, in one monstrous compound of blasphemy and falsehood^a. The implacable hatred with which Mahomet pursued the Jews, and the oppression

^a Jehovah is the true and only God, but Allah is not Jehovah. In the reign of Charles the Second the English Unitarians addressed the Moorish ambassador and his suite as "votaries and fellow-worshippers of the sole supreme Deity"; but the Mahometan refused to receive the papers, and as Dr. Priestley treated the story of the negotiation as an invention, we may infer that even in his opinion the English Unitarians went too far. Indeed if we allow that the Mahometans acknowledge the true and only God, we shall hardly know where to stop.

which they have suffered for nearly 1,200 years, may warrant our expecting some notice of that impostor in a prophecy, which contains what shall befall the people of Daniel in the latter days. No less than seven crusades were undertaken in the hope of recovering the Holy Land; and as we still are Christian dogs in the opinion of the Mahometans, the Christians as well as the Jews are so deeply interested in the subject, that if the following description should suit Mahomet and Mahometanism, we need not object to the application. "And in his estate shall stand up a vile person to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom, but he shall come in peaceably and obtain the kingdom by flatteries. And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant*. And after the league

* "Confidently I deny," says Bishop Horsley in his Twenty-ninth sermon, "that a single text is to be found in holy writ, which, rightly understood, gives the least countenance to the abominable doctrine of such a participation of

made with him he shall work deceitfully : for he shall come up and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter into the ^a peaceable and fat places of the province ; and he shall do *that* which his fathers have not done nor his fathers' fathers ; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil and riches : *yea*, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time." To what but flattery can we ascribe the mention which Mahomet has made of our Saviour and of

the holy angels in God's government of the world." If the bishop thought thus of the doctrine of tutelar angels and archangels, if he both thought and proved that there is but one archangel, what would he have thought if he had read in the notes of our Family Bible, that the person, whom the angel Gabriel calls the prince of the covenant, is a mere man, is the high priest of the Jews, and that the prophecy alludes to the intrigues of Jason and Menelaus ? Surely the prince of the covenant is he, whom the same angel calls " Michael your prince," is no other than Melchisedeck, the eternal High Priest, than the angel of the covenant, than Michael the archangel, than Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.

^a I have followed the marginal reading.

H 2

Moses ? What but flattery was his motive for maintaining the unity of the Deity while he was endeavouring to conciliate Christians, Jews, and Zabians ? A new religion would not have given the Mahometans the kingdom of the world ; but the profession of Islamism, though it ends with blasphemy^a, begins with the greatest of all truths. In the astonishing success and widely extended rule of the Mahometans, we may see that with the arms of a flood the nations have been overflowed from before him, and that Christianity, or the prince of the covenant, was broken before Mahometanism we cannot well deny, while we think on Jerusalem and the seven churches of Asia. That the prey, and the spoil, and riches have been scattered, may be shewn from the triple division of the empire of the Seljuik Turks, from the partition among

—“ There is no God

But God, he cried ; there is no God but God !

Mahommed is the prophet of the Lord ! ”

RODERICK, B. xxi.

the Emirs of Anatolia, from the reign of the Mamelukes, in Egypt, and more favourably from the laws and practice of Mahomet himself^a.

“*Yea*, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time. And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with

^a “The Musulman does not accomplish the law, unless he bestows a *tenth* of his revenue; and if his conscience accuses him of fraud or extortion, the tenth, under the idea of restitution, is enlarged to a *fifth*.” Gibbon, Vol. ix. chap. 50. Mahometanism is not so bad as the idolatry of the Hindoos, and probably it was superior both in its creed and in practice to the idolatry of the Arabs. In the description of the little horn, which came forth out of one of the four horns, we may recognize Mahomet, who waxed great against the host of heaven, for he and his successors have severely punished the worshippers of the host of heaven, and overthrown their idols. Our God is the Lord God of Sabaoth; both cherubim and seraphim continually acknowledge His power. Nebuchadnezzar made the idolaters of his time afraid of practising their abominations openly, and the sword of the Mahometans has effected a further improvement. Bishop Heber seems to have been half inclined to tolerate the establishment of Mahometanism as a means of removing the foul idolatries of India. The greatest moral offence of the Mahometans, was taught to the Persians by the Greeks. Is it authorized by the Koran? It was authorized by Solon.

a great army." By the king of the south we will now understand the ten toes, the relics of the Roman empire ; and we know that the Mahometans established themselves in Spain, and penetrated into France, and attacked Italy. " And the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army." They, who are at all acquainted with the history of the crusades, will allow that the armies of the crusaders were very great and mighty.

" But he shall not stand ; for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow : and many shall fall down slain." The conduct of the Greek emperors was so treacherous^a, and so many of the crusaders perished through their own misconduct,

^a " The aversion of the Greeks and Latins was nourished and manifested in the first three expeditions to the Holy Land. Alexius Comnenus contrived the absence at least of the formidable pilgrims ; his successors, Manuel and Isaac Angelus, conspired with the Moslems for the ruin of the greatest princes of the Franks ; and their crooked and malignant policy was seconded by the active and voluntary obedi-

that without going any farther, we might find an explanation for the prophecy; but even the English reader knows how ill the king of France behaved to the king of England, and he remembers with shame that the king of England, the lion-hearted Richard, is charged with procuring the assassination of Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat. For suspending his vow, the emperor of Germany, Frederick the Second, was excommunicated by Gregory the Ninth, and for presuming in the next year, to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same pope. "And both these kings' hearts *shall be* to do mischief; and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end *shall be* at the time appointed." If we take a range from very early times down to the interviews at Tilsit, we may find many cases in point; but we must look beyond

ence of every order of their subjects." Gibbon, Vol. xi. Chap. lx.

Raymond, Count of Tripoli, was a traitor. See Gibbon, Chap. lix.

the literal meaning. "The end shall be at the time appointed." What is the end which the Mahometan and the king of the south have endeavoured to hinder? But one answer will suit the importance of the prophecy. Neither Mahometanism nor popery allows the circulation of the scriptures: and our Saviour has told us, that before his second coming, before the end, the Gospel must be preached in all the world, as a witness to all nations.

"Then ^a shall he return into his land with great riches; and his heart *shall be* against the holy covenant; and he shall do *exploits*, and return into his own land." The Mahometans invaded the Greek empire, and ultimately took Constantinople. That in so doing they returned into their own land, will appear, if we consider the history of Zabianism, and its connection with the crescent ^b.

^a Literally "and." In the 18th verse, also, we should read, "And he shall turn," &c., instead of "after this, he shall turn," &c.

^b This will be noticed in another place.

“ At the time appointed, he shall return and come toward the south ; but it shall not be as the former or as the latter. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him.”

If my conjectures are right, the time appointed is the time of the Reformation. Our Reformers translated and circulated the holy scriptures, in spite of the mischief and lies of the king of the south. They performed another great service also : they were the means of restoring to us the only security that was ever given to man.

“ The Lamb was slain before the foundation of the world ;” and where his blood was sprinkled, the destroying angel had no power. “ Drink ye all of this,” said our Saviour, when he gave the cup. But popery had denied the cup to the laity, and made an idol of the bread. The Church of England returned to the Catholic and Apostolic faith ; and Mahometanism, the abomination that maketh desolate, began to lose that power, which had hitherto been the terror of Christendom. The

arms of the king of the south were successful. The Mahometan came toward the south, but it was not as it had been before, neither as it is to be hereafter. The ships of Chittim, i. e. of the Goths *, came against him, and his marine was ruined by the battle of Lepanto. "Therefore shall he be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant. So shall he do; he shall even return and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant." Very soon after the Mahometan had returned from Lepanto, he punished the Christians of Albania and Macedonia. But, before that, when he returned and came toward the south, as was mentioned before,

* Pelayo restored the kingdom of the Goths in Spain, and Philip the Second of Spain defrayed half the expense of the armament which defeated the Turks at Lepanto. Philip's brother, Don John, of Austria, was generalissimo of the fleet, so that the fleet may be called the fleet of the Chittim. See Watson's *Life of Philip the Second*, Vol. i. Book ix., for the importance of this victory. In Balaam's prophecy, the expression is not "the ships of Chittim," but "ships shall come from the coasts of Chittim;" and as Russia is in possession of the ancient country of the Getæ, the Russian fleets may be said to come from the coasts of Chittim.

he had intelligence with Francis the First of France.

Pepin and Charlemagne set up the pope as a temporal sovereign ; Charlemagne was on terms of friendship with Haroun Al-raschid : and if the history of modern infidelity has been written correctly, France has been no less the nurse of infidelity, than of popery.

“ And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily *sacrifice*, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.” Jerusalem was taken by the Mahometans in the reign of Omar ; and as Mahomet accounted it one of his three holy cities, we may conclude that very soon after the conquest, the abomination was placed there. The Greek and Roman pagans civilized those whom they subdued ; but the state of Asia Minor, of European Turkey, and even of Constantinople, the seat of empire, shews that Mahometanism is the abomination that maketh desolate. “ And all as do wickedly against

the covenant, shall he corrupt^a by flatteries: but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do *exploits*."

The noble stand which the united provinces made against Philip of Spain, cannot have been forgotten; and although Elizabeth was criminal in some matters, and very weak in others, her long reign, the long and troubled reign of that woman, is nevertheless the most glorious reign in our history, and might convince us that the faith of the Reformed Church of England was the true faith, and that religion has a great deal to do with politics. "And they that understand among the people shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, *many* days. Now when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. And *some* of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make *them*

^a According to the margin, "Cause to dissemble." The deep dissembling of Catharine of Medicis is well known.

white, *even* to the time of the end ; because *it is* yet for a time appointed." They who are acquainted with the history of the Reformation, and the sufferings of the Reformers, will not think any explanation necessary.

" And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished ; for that that is determined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god : for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces, and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge *and* increase with glory ; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain."

Mahomet professed to acknowledge Christianity, Judaism, and Zabianism; yet the god of Mahomet is a strange god^a, and Mahomet endeavoured to set him above our Saviour, the God of gods. The Mahometans do not regard the desire of women, for they are addicted to unnatural lusts, and the women are little better than slaves in Mahometan countries. The notorious venality of the Mahometan governments, shews that the land is divided for a price, or for gain.

“At the time of the end.” That religion has nothing to do with politics, is the great maxim of the present day; but the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, and our ways are not His ways. It is

^a In the Foreign Quarterly Review (No. 7.) it is observed that “the ensign of the crescent, which the Ottomans adopted from the Seljukian Turks, had blazed on the standard of ancient Byzantium, and not only resumed its old dominion.” But, notwithstanding this coincidence, which tends to prove that the Mahometans have returned into their own country, the god of the Mahometans is a strange god, and a god whom their fathers knew not; for the Zabians worshipped the moon, and the moon is said to have been Mahomet’s very obedient humble servant to command.

not impossible therefore that our liberality, and conciliation, and charity may be but the sheep's clothing of false prophecy. Our forefathers intended that no one should have a share in the government of our country, who did not receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and profess in consequence, that the blood of the Lamb is our only real security. We have acted differently. Let us date the time of the end from the triumph of our liberality, and the separation of religion from politics.

“At the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and horsemen, and many ships.” By the king of the south may we not understand the English and French nations? They have merely pushed at the Mahometan; but the Russians, the king of the north, have come against him like a whirlwind. The effect of a whirlwind is to break and scatter; and what other simile would better describe the effect of the late campaign? If my con-

jectures are right, the remainder of the prophecy is yet to be accomplished: and as I am neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, I refer the reader to the bible. There is, however, another part of the prophecy, which should now be noticed. "At the end of years they shall join themselves together—" Who are *they*? Apparently the four horns or kingdoms, into which Alexander's empire was divided. "For the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement—" The very names of Adrianople and Constantinople will justify me, in considering the present seat of the Turkish empire as a colony of the Romans, or the daughter of the king of the south. By the end of years, I have ventured to understand the present time, and certainly the sultan has sued for peace, "the king's daughter of the south has come to the king of the north to make an agreement—But she shall not retain the power of the arm." We are told that great confusion prevails in the Ottoman empire, and that the sultan's orders are

not obeyed ; and here I beg leave to stop, and to state again that I do not pretend to the gift of prophecy. I believe that the remainder of the chapter, and the seventh and eighth verses also, allude to events which are about to happen ; but of the manner of the accomplishment I know nothing. “ Out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up.” When the roots extend so far and wide, can we at present identify the branch out of which the destroyer is to arise ? The captivity of Elam, Moab, Ammon, and Edom, is to be brought again at the latter time. If my conjectures are right, the Spartans are the chief of Ammon, the Argives are Moab, and the Mesenians Edom. These are to be found in the Morea, and if the independence of the Morea is secured, we may say that Edom, Moab, and the chief of Ammon, have escaped out of the hand of the Mahometan. But Elam was scattered to the four winds of heaven, and how shall we divine the manner in which its captivity will be brought again ?

Having thus endeavoured to secure myself against the charge of presumption, I shall freely hazard some conjectures as to the connexion between this and other prophecies ; premising, however, that they are nothing but conjectures ; and that, although the approaching events should belie every one of these conjectures, it will signify little or nothing to me, provided that when the events shall have happened, the prophecies themselves shall be found to agree with the events.

If I apprehend the present doctrine of a Millennium rightly, it rests on the literal acceptation of a passage in the Revelations. The martyrs are to rise again, and to reign visibly on earth with our Lord for 1000 years, and this is to take place very soon. Undoubtedly such an event is not what I expect, and therefore I have to account not for the likelihood of the event, but for the present belief of it, and to shew that this belief is no argument against a contrary expectation, an expectation of real danger and of fancied security.

It is very certain that when our Lord shall come to judgement not many of those who expect him will be properly prepared. His day will come as a thief in the night. At midnight the cry will be made. We shall talk of peace and safety, but sudden destruction will come upon us. If we are to have 1000 years of preparation, the most stubborn can hardly fail to be warned. Is it not more likely that the Millenarians are deceiving themselves and others, by giving a literal meaning to a very figurative passage^a? Another, and a very different opinion is founded on arithmetic. The day of the Lord will come in about sixty years. Arithmetical calculations should be capable of proof. What is to hinder the calculators from fixing both the day and the hour? Happily our Gracious Master

^a "Sentences in Scripture, like hairs in horsetails, concur in one root of beauty and strength; but being plucked out, one by one, serve only for springes and snares." Should not they, who interpret the very mystical book of the Revelations, take care to make their interpretation agree with the other prophecies?

has ordered it otherwise. The consequences of presumption are dangerous, but the consequences of despair are dreadful. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." When sailors despair of saving their lives, they are but too apt to plunder the ship and commit excesses. Read what happened during the plague, not in Athens only, but in London, in a Christian city, and judge whether the sure and evident approach of the last day, would make mankind wise unto salvation.

Happily for us all, neither presumption nor despair will interrupt what we call the natural course of things. "But as the days of Noah were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For as in the days that were before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came and took them all away : so shall also the coming of the Son of man be."^a

^a See also Daniel, Chap. xii. Verse 10.

The third point is the restoration of Israel. By becoming a Christian, St. Paul did not cease to be of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of Hebrews. May not the whole number of those that are sealed, be restored without our converting a single Jew? If, however, we expect that our preaching will convert the Jews, and that such conversion will precede the coming of our Lord, let us see what progress we have made. It was stated in 1826, that the Society for the Conversion of the Jews had expended nearly £135,000^a to very little purpose. Mammon, therefore, will not be a very efficient agent; and if we expect something better than nominal conversions, we must use better means.

The besetting sin of the Israelites was idolatry. Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus were the instruments of their reformation; and since that time they have not been accused of a relapse. It is very probable, therefore,

^a British Critic, No. iii. Article 12.

that they have learnt the meaning of the second commandment ; and they might tell us, if they chose, that we are not allowed to represent, or to attempt to represent, the Being whom we worship. If we are right in worshipping Christ, we are wrong in attempting to represent Him. They might tell us also, that the images of dead men have no business in the house of the living God, and that we do but insult His omnipresence, when we repeat " O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker," and nevertheless sit, while we offer up our prayers and thanksgivings. May not these be the real impediments to our success ? Should we not begin by taking the beam out of our own eye ? If the Jew reads the book of Isaiah, he must know that Tyre was to commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth. We shall not, therefore, persuade the Jew, that our fancy for the images of heathen deities is nothing but a mere matter of taste, nor that a heathen figure

of victory is a proper emblem of our gratitude to Him who alone giveth victory to kings, and who has declared himself to be a jealous God. When the house of God is again made the house of prayer, we may hope that we shall convert the Jews ; but before the temple is purified, its lord will be again on earth.

I may, perhaps, have succeeded in proving that the end will come suddenly, notwithstanding the doctrine of a Millennium and our skill in calculation and our notions of converting the Jews : but I have been bold enough to suppose that the historical prophecy of Daniel is at last unsealed—that the time of the end is arrived, and consequently I have taken upon myself to fix a date, and I ought in fairness to attempt to shew that this date is not at variance with the other dates, which are given in prophecy.

If I am mad, there is method in my madness ; for I uniformly date from the repeal of the test act, and assuming this to be the time of the end, I reckon backward. My fixing on such a date will be

thought foolish, and bigoted, and uncharitable. But why so? A custom-house oath is proverbial for a thing of no meaning. Why then is our Saviour disobeyed, and the third commandment violated? The answer is ready; a custom-house oath is a government security. The oaths which are taken by the under-graduates at our Universities cannot be observed. Why then are they imposed? The answer is ready; they are academical securities. Such being the case, is it foolish to assert that the test act, that the union of politics with religion, was a national security? Is it bigoted and uncharitable to believe that except we eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, we have no life in us? Dating, therefore, from the repeal of the test act, and assuming that lunar years, and not solar years, should be used in our computations, I find that the 1290 days of Daniel bring me quite close enough^a to the time when a Mahometan mosque was

^a Perhaps there would be no great difficulty in making out an exact agreement; but who will vouch for the correctness of our chronology?

erected on the site of the temple of Solomon, and the abomination that maketh desolate stood in the holy place. In the same manner I consider the forty-two months of the Revelations as lunar months, and multiplying not by thirty, but by twenty-eight, I consider the product not as solar years, but as lunar years. 1176 lunar years, reckoned backward from the same date, bring us to the eighth century, and I consider this as the time when the great red dragon, or popery, came into full power^a; when the two witnesses began to prophesy in sackcloth; and when the ten-horned beast, or Antichrist, (not popery, but Mahometanism,) manifested its true character^b. As for the Millennium, is it not

^a A century affords a wide range; but has any one been able to ascertain the year in which the pope began to be adored? Gregory the Second is said to have been elected in 714; Gregory the Third, in 731; and Zachary in 741; and each of these three acted an important part.

^b "About two hundred years after Mahomet, they," the Christians, "were separated from their fellow subjects by a turban, or girdle, of a less honourable colour; instead of horses, or mules, they were condemned to ride on asses, in the attitude of women. Their public and private buildings

over, and are not Gog and Magog even now gathering together for battle? The great object for man to accomplish was the spreading of the gospel. This could not have been accomplished but for the regeneration, the revival of the Apostolic faith, and therefore the reformation may be considered as the Millennium.

In conclusion, Babylon seems not to be Rome, but Constantinople, and as this opinion will seem very strange, I shall vindicate it at some length.

The inscription on the forehead of the woman begins with MYSTERY, and yet we are told that "the city on seven hills" is so characteristic of Rome "that the name itself could not have pointed it out more plainly." Constantinople, however, is a city on seven hills, and so is Adrianople. As for the purple and scarlet, Bishop

were measured by a diminutive standard ; in the streets, or the baths, it is their duty to give way or bow down before the meanest of the people ; and their testimony is rejected, if it may tend to the prejudice of a true believer," &c. Gibbon, Vol. ix. chapter 51.

Newton observes, that the Othmans from the first time of their appearance have affected to wear warlike apparel of scarlet, blue, and yellow. As for idolatry, Rome was an importing, not an exporting country, how then can she be the mother of harlots? The answer is, that she became so when popery was established: if so, the children are older than the mother. The separation of the eastern and western churches took place in the eighth century; so that the supremacy of the pope cannot well be dated from an earlier period; and the history of the Greek church antecedently to that period, shews us that the Greek church was by no means behind the Roman church in corruption. Must we not give a stronger meaning to the words? Is not the mother of harlots the same as the mother of the gods? Is it not in Zebianism, in the worship of the host of heaven, in the earliest species of idolatry, that we must seek the meaning of "mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots"? Must we not take a still bolder step, and

shew that the prophesied re-appearance of the Assyrian has been accomplished, that the Turks and the Chaldeans, and Gog and the king of fierce countenance, are the same? Let us begin with the city. Constantinople, as such, is the city of Constantine, the daughter of the king of the south; but we will now consider it under a different character, as Byzantium, and the still older Lygos. Stephanus Byzantinus tells us, that the port of Byzantium was called Phosphorion, but that this was a corruption of Bosphorus. Let us examine the meaning of Bosphorus. It means, as we are told, a narrow arm of the sea, which oxen might swim across ^a, if they were so inclined, and which Io did swim across when she was turned into a cow. Very good. But in Latin authors we find Bosphorus ^b, and this also is a corruption; and

^a "Johnson has been confined for some weeks in the Isle of Sky; we hear that he was obliged to swim over to the main land, taking hold of a cow's tail." Letter from T. Beauclerk to Lord Charlemont. Hardy's *Life of Lord Charlemont*, Vol. i. p. 345.

^b I do not mean to defend *Mumpsimus* against *Sumpsimus*,

Bosporos is occasionally the name of a kingdom^a, and this also must be a corruption. Nothing, in short, is genuine, but the derivation of Bosporos from two Greek words, which, if compounded in the usual way, would make not Bosporos, but Bouporos, or Boosporos. Nothing is so like true history as the supposition that

nor to maintain, like the hermit of Prague, who never saw pen and ink, that "that which is, is," when pen and ink are concerned; but the notice of Bosphorus in Facciolati's Lexicon should make the verbal critics hesitate before they decide that the Latin word is Bosporus. Iphigenia was devoted to the $\Phi\omega\sigma\Phi\acute{o}\rho\omega\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$. (Iphig. in Tauris, verse 21.)

^a Four references to four different authors may suffice to shew that Bosporus does not mean merely a strait. It is mentioned by Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptines, and in Reiske's Index Geographicus in Demosthenem the passage is thus referred to, "Bosporus, emporium in Ponto, 467. 11." Strabo in his thirteenth book, says that Mithridates was king $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{Βοσπόρου}$, and in the next line but one he mentions Asander as $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\chi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \text{Βόσπορον}$, (page 463 of Tzschucke's edition.) Appian says that Pharnaces requested of Pompey, $\eta\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{πατρῴας}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$, $\eta\ \text{Βοσπόρου}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\iota\iota\ \mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\upsilon$, and a little afterwards the Bosporus is twice mentioned as a kingdom. (De Bellis Mithrid. Lib. pages 413, 414. of the Amsterdam edition.) Gibbon says "the khan who dwelt at the foot of Mount Altai, issued his commands for the siege of Bosphorus, a city," &c. Vol. vii. chap. 42.

oxen may swim across this inlet, or the assertion that Io was turned into a cow and did swim across.

If we could take off the veil of Io or Isis, profane history would be a puzzle no longer. But, as by John Bull we do not exactly mean a four-legged animal, with a pair of horns and a long tail, so by Io we may venture to understand not a cow, but the Ionim or Zabians. Now Stephanus Byzantinus, although he does not tell us that his city was anciently called Lygos, does allude to a story of Hecate's appearing there. Hecate is the same as the moon, so that we may begin to discover why Byzantium was anciently called Lygos. It was called so probably, from being the city of the worshippers of light, or the Zabians; and Phosphorion is not a corruption of Bosphoros, but Bosporos, or Bosphorus is a corruption of Phosphorus, a name connecting the history of Byzantium with that of him, who in Scripture is styled Lucifer, son of the morning. Where was the seat of the Tauric Diana? In the Cimmerian

Bosphorus. Here again we have a similar allusion. From whence did Ptolemy fetch Serapis? From Pontus. From whence did the Romans fetch Cybele, the mother of the gods? From Phrygia. Where was the most celebrated temple of Diana? At Ephesus. What does the elder Pliny mention as the most august temple at Susa? The temple of Diana^a. What is said to have been the great object of idolatry at Carrhæ, or Haran? The moon. What is said to have been the ancient ensign of the Byzantine coins? A crescent. Thus, therefore, we may see that Constantinople is more truly than Rome the mother of harlots. The map shews^b that there the eagles are gathered together; and there, as I venture to suppose, the carcase is also.

Let us now consider the connexion between the Assyrian and the king of fierce

^a Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. c. 31.

^b The eagle of Russia, the eagle of Austria, the eagle of Poland, the eagle of Hungary, the eagle of Prussia.

countenance, and Gog and the Mahometan.

The words of Daniel ^a, and of the second book of Chronicles ^b, ought to convince us that Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Chaldees, executed the threatenings of Moses. The Chaldees, therefore, are the nation, whose tongue the Israelites did not understand, the nation of fierce countenance. We may learn from Ezekiel ^c, that Gog is he of whom the Almighty spoke in old times, by His servants the prophets of Israel. Gog is to fall on the mountains of Israel ^d, and so is the Assyrian ^e. I venture therefore to conclude that the Chaldeans will again be made the instruments of divine vengeance ^f. Compare the whole de-

^a Daniel, Chap. ix. verses 11, &c.

^b Chap. xxxvi. verses 1, 5, &c.

^c Chap. xxxviii. verse 17.

^d Ezekiel, chap. xxxix. verse 4.

^e Isaiah, chap. xiv. verse 24, &c. Chap. xxx. verse 33. Micah, chap. v. verse 5.

^f The people "terrible from the beginning hitherto," (Isaiah, chap. xviii.) is supposed to be the Israelites; but the

scription of the little horn that came forth out of one of the four horns, with the

Israelites began to be a people in the land of Egypt, they were cruelly oppressed there, and were not engaged in any wars until they had left it. If "hitherto" is to be referred to the time when the prophecy was uttered, it is less applicable to the Israelites than to the Assyrians, who were a terror to them. If "hitherto" is to be referred to the time of the accomplishment of the prophecy, the description has ceased to be applicable for more than 2,000 years. May not the prophecy apply to the Chaldeans? Until the fall of Babylon they were terrible, and even after the fall of Babylon they do not appear to have lost their warlike habits. Many nations were to serve themselves of the Chaldeans. (Jeremiah, xxv. 14., and xxvii. 7.) Whether we read with the text, "meted out and trodden down," or with the margin, "that meteth out and treadeth down," the description will suit them. In Deuteronomy, (chap. xxviii. verse 49.) the words "from far, from the end of the earth," shew that the Chaldeans came from a very distant country; and it is probable, that in their dispersion some returned there. May we venture to identify the Chaldeans, or Chalybes, with "the Turks, the most despised portion of the slaves of the great khan of the Geougen"? (Gibbon, Vol. vii. chap. 42.) They were smiths; and if I understand Gibbon rightly, they passed 450 years in the ridge of mountains called Imaus and Caf, and Altai and the golden mountains, and the girdle of the earth. These 450 years must be reckoned from an early period, for in 545 A.D., the Turks seem to have been a powerful and conquering nation. (Gibbon, Vol. vii. chap. 42.) May we venture to assert that Virgil alluded to these smiths; and that the shepherd Cyclops

whole description of the vile person ; and although you do not admit that they have one application, you will admit that there is more than a faint resemblance. The little horn, the king of fierce countenance, that stood up when the transgressors were come to the full, is to be broken without hand, the vile person is to come to his end, and none shall help him ; and at that time shall Michael stand up. So far, therefore, we are warranted in uniting these descriptions, and applying them all to Gog. The beast on which the woman sits, is described as the beast, that was, and is not, and yet is. Here again we may find an allusion to Gog ; to him, of whom the Almighty spoke in old times.

“ There are seven kings : five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come ; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and

of Homer, and the blacksmith Cyclops of Virgil refer to the Chaldeans? If the 18th chapter of Isaiah does apply to them, we need not doubt that Egypt is meant by “ the land shadowing with wings.” See Daniel, chap. xi. verses 42, 43.

is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as kings the same^a hour as the beast." As the beast was like a lion, a bear, and a leopard, we may without difficulty recognize the Chaldean, Persian, and Macedonian empires; and in the ten crowned horns, we may recognize the divisions of the Roman empire, the ten toes of the image, the ten horns of the fourth beast. The seven heads or kingdoms require more examination; for they should represent not merely seven kingdoms, but the seven most considerable kingdoms or empires; we should shew that the beast is the eighth and is of the seven.

Nineveh, and Ur of the Chaldees, and Haran are of very early date; but the first great kingdom that we read of, is the kingdom of the Pharaohs. This, therefore, we will make the first head; and as we know

^a "One hour," in our version, *μία ὥρα* in the original.

that the Egyptians were idolaters, we may suppose, not unreasonably, that they were worshippers of the host of heaven, or Zabians. The kingdom of Nineveh will be the second head, and the kingdom of Babylon the third; and both these are so connected with the Chaldeans, that even if Zabanism were not the earliest and most common idolatry, we might rank the Assyrians, whether of Nineveh or of Babylon, among the Zabians.

The fourth head will be the Persian monarchy. The names of Mithra and Zoroaster will remind the reader that the Persians were worshippers of light.

The fifth head will be the Macedonian monarchy. Alexander called himself the son of Jupiter Ammon. Eumenes was a Cardian, and Seleucus was said to be the son of Apollo; so that here also we may trace the Zabian idolatry. The sixth head, the one which is described as the head that is, must be the Roman empire, and we are told that Vesta and the eternal fire were highly honoured by the Romans. The

seventh head may represent the Ottoman empire, and may also be the head wounded to death by the sword. The beast is the eighth, and is of the seven. It is the beast, that was, and is not, and yet is.

If I can shew a connexion between Islamism and Zabianism, between the Turks and the Assyrians, I shall likewise shew that when the Turks made Constantinople the seat of the Mahometan empire, they fulfilled the prophecy, and returned into their own land^a. “A Persian author insists, that the true name of Meccah is *Mahcadah*, or the *temple of the moon*.” Sir William Jones, whose words I quote^b, seems to smile at

^a Estambol, Istambol, Stambol, are said to be the Turkish corruptions of εἰς τὴν πόλιν. It would be difficult to persuade us that any foreigners called London “to town,” or “into the city;” yet we believe that the Turks have no better name for a city, to the conquest of which the Mahometans were incited by the Koran, and which they besieged several times. We find Eski Stambol, and Costambol, in Asia Minor. Are these also corruptions of εἰς τὴν πόλιν?

^b See his fourth Discourse. “The luminous page of Gibbon” does not afford a very steady light, in his account of the Arabian idolatries; but whether the Koreish were Zabians or not, we have Gibbon’s authority for asserting that the Zabians

the etymology, but the great idol of Mecca is a black stone, and Cybele and Apollo, and probably Diana*, were thus represented. That Zabianism was one of the three religions which Mahomet acknowledged, and that the veneration for Haran of Chaldea, was

of Arabia ended their pilgrimage in the temple of the moon at Haran. See Vol. ix. chap. 50.

* "The sun was worshipped at Emesa under the name of Elagabalus, and under the form of a black conical stone; which, as it was universally believed, had fallen from heaven on that sacred place." Gibbon, Vol. i. chap. 6.

"Pergamum ad regem venerunt. Is legatos comiter acceptos Pessinuntem in Phrygiam deduxit: sacrumque iis lapidem, quam matrem Deum esse incolæ dicebant, tradidit, ac deportare Romam jussit." Livy, Lib. xxix. cap. 11. Pessinus is said to have been so called from *πείσιν*, because this stone fell there. The image of the Tauric Diana is said to have fallen from heaven (See Euripides, Iphig. in Tauris, v. 86, &c.) and so is the image of the Ephesian Diana. (*τοῦ Διο-πύρου*, see Acts of the Apostles, chap. xix. verse 35.) The elder Pliny says, "De ipso simulacro Dæe ambigitur: ceteri ex ebena esse tradunt." Mucianus, whom Pliny quotes and disbelieves, said it was made out of the wood of a vine. Vitruvius says it was made of cedar. (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xvi. cap. 79. Ed. Harduin. Vitruvius, Lib. ii. cap. 9.) But if this image was supposed to have fallen from heaven, may we not conclude that it was a black stone or an *aërolite*?

the reason why the Zabians were called Harranni, may be learned from D'Herbelot^a. The Curds are generally allowed to be the same as the Chaldeans, and the oriental legend, that makes the Curds descended from the Devil, connects them with Lucifer and Hecate. We learn from Herodotus, that the Ionian dress was properly a Carian dress; and we may learn from D'Herbelot that the cassock is a Curdish dress^b.

^a Bibliothèque Orientale, Harran. Laban, the first idolater on record, dwelt at Haran; and in the time of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, Haran seems to have been a place of some note. (See 2 Kings, chap. xix. verse 12.) It was notorious afterwards from the defeat of Crassus; and two Roman emperors, Caracalla and Julian, worshipped there. In the time of Mahomet it was highly honoured by the Zabians, and the dungeons of Haran, and the palace of Haran, are mentioned by Gibbon, in his account of the civil war between the Omniades and Abbassides. (See Vol. x. chap. 52.) What is known of Haran at present? Have the pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina made its name and place forgotten, or in the word "Haram," as applied to Mecca and to Medina, ought we to recognize the name and sanctity of the ancient Haran? I should mention, however, that Haram, or Harem, is said to be derived from a Hebrew word of similar sound and meaning. See Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon.

^b "CURDIAH, et *Curtekiah*, qui signifie en Turc une Ca-

The Turks represented a wolf^a as the founder of their race ; the Seljukian Turks bore a crescent as their ensign ; and a crescent is still the ensign of the Ottoman empire^b. Should these slight and imperfect

saque, a pris son origine d' un habillement des Curdes," &c. Bibl. Ori. Curd.

^a See Gibbon, Vol. vii. Chap. 42. p. 284, octavo edition of 1797. In page 286 he mentions a golden wolf, but in his first volume he mentions the golden eagle which glittered in the front of the Roman legion ; and we know that, in this instance, all that glittered was not gold, for the eagle was made of silver. There is a curious connexion between the stories of lycanthropy, and the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar ; and in other stories also the mention of a wolf enables us sometimes to discover the origin of the fiction. Take, for example, the story of Milo. Milo, the strongest of all men, is Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest of conquerors. The tree which Milo attempted to rend, is Nebuchadnezzar's second dream. Milo's attempt to rend the tree, ended in his destruction ; and at the end of twelve months, Nebuchadnezzar's fall verified the explanation of his dream. The wolves that devoured Milo, allude to Nebuchadnezzar's punishment ; the bull, which Milo carried, and afterwards devoured, alludes to Apis, or the conquest and desolation of Egypt. They who laugh at this explanation, may try to carry a bull, and to eat it up afterwards.

^b The Ottoman Turks are said to have adopted the crescent from the Seljukian Turks ; but why did the Seljukian Turks wear it, and why did the Ottoman Turks adopt it ? Appian

notices suffice to shew that the mother of harlots is no other than the mother of the gods, my purpose is answered. Should they be thought insufficient, I have to state

tells us that Seleucus was so strong, that when a bull broke loose, he held him fast by the horns, and that therefore the statues of Seleucus had horns. If no better reason can be given, I should suspect that there is something more than a similarity of sound in Seleucus and Seljuk. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, that on the death of Alexander, Arsaces, a Parthian of low birth and a leader of robbers, became master of Persia ; and it is from this historian that we shall probably gain a clue to the truth. (See Lib. xxiii. cap. 6.) D'Herbelot says "*Le Labtarikh, le Tarikh Montekheb, Khondemir, et tous les autres historiens Orientaux, disent qu'il y a eu deux Alexandres, tous deux surnommés Dhúlcarnein, c'est-à-dire, aux deux cornes,*" &c. Bibl. Ori. Escander. The earlier of the Dhúlcarnein, seems to be the same as Nebuchadnezzar, Pan, and the horned Bacchus.

The Tartars, when Carpini was among them, called the moon the great emperor, and worshipped it on their knees. (See Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. i. page 132.) Mithridates was a common name of the kings of Pontus. Mithras is the sun, and Mithra is the moon ; and the last and most powerful Mithridates was called Dionusus, a name appropriated to Bacchus. Macrobius observes in his Saturnalia, (lib. i. cap. 19.) "*Cum igitur Liber pater idem ac Sol sit, Mars vero idem ac Liber pater, Martem solem esse quis dubitet ?*"

that my Inquiry is not ended, but merely begun: I must prepare for returning to the conquests and dispersions^a of Nebuchadnezzar, and must endeavour also to trace the history of the Chaldeans^b, after the destruction of Babylon, and their dispersion.

^a Gibbon tells us that Tamerlane in his letter to Bajazet, distinguished himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and stigmatises the race and nation of Bajazet, with the less honourable epithet of *Turkmans*. He adds, "Yet I do not understand how the Ottomans could be descended from a Turkman sailor; those inland shepherds were so remote from the sea and all maritime affairs." (Vol. xii. c. 65. note.) Does not this remind us of the Chaldeans whose cry was in the ships, and of Sesostris, and his Colchian colony, and his naval expeditions? Tamerlane was of the race of Zinghis Khan, and Zinghis Khan (i. e. the king of kings) seems to have been of Turkish lineage; for the Altai mountains are said to have been the original seat of the Turks, and, according to Marco Polo, Zinghis Khan was buried in the mountain of Altai, and all the great khans and princes of the blood of Zinghis were carried for burial to the mountains of Altai, even from the distance of a hundred days' journey. (Kerr, Vol. i. p. 309.)

^b I will not attempt at present to trace the origin of the Saracens, nor the meaning of their name. The common sign of the Saracen's Head, shews that our crusaders thought them a people of fierce countenance. And in a very late work,

(Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England by the Rev. R. Walsh,) the author, after remarking the difference between the Bulgarians and the Turks, says, "On the road we frequently met groups of both, always separate, but employed in the same avocations." [Qy. *vocations*.] "The Turks were known by turbans, sashes, pistols, and yatigans; but still more by a ferocity of aspect, a rude assumption of demeanour, and a careless kind of contempt, that at once repulsed and disgusted us." (I quote from an extract given in No. 2 of the London Review.)

If we examine the evidence which has been brought forward to shew that the Romans were a nation of fierce countenance, we shall find that it is not very conclusive. The Romans, like other warlike nations, may have looked fierce when they were fighting, but we might with as much, and perhaps with better reason, assert that the English are a nation of fierce countenance. Even an Englishwoman, "lion-like rising, daunted" the ambassador of Poland, "no less with her stately port and majestical deporture, than with the tartnesse of her princelie checkes." (See Gray's Bard, and the quotation from Speed.) As for Plutarch's evidence, does it not appear from his life of Marius, that the Romans were frightened at the fierce countenances of the Cimbri, and are not Pompey's troopers said to have preferred a smooth face to a scarred one? (See Plutarch's Life of Julius Cæsar.) But there are much weightier objections to the explanation given in the Family Bible. Archdeacon Powell observes, (Discourse 9. p. 147.) "When the *completion* of the prophecies is manifest, the *application* of them to the proof of our religion is the same as of other miracles. But there is one advantage peculiar to them, and such as deserves notice. They connect together the Old and the New Testament. To a Jew, who acknow-

ledges the authority of Moses and the prophets, they offer the shortest and plainest evidence of Christianity. To a Christian, already convinced by the miracles and doctrines of our Saviour, that he was a teacher sent from God, they prove with equal clearness, the divinity of the old Testament." The doctrine is sound, and the reasoning just. Let us bear them in mind, while we examine the explanation of Bishop Newton, and the other annotators. If we compare the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth verses of the ninth chapter of Daniel, with the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, we must conclude, that in Daniel's opinion the Chaldeans executed the threatenings of Moses: but if the Romans were meant by the nation of fierce countenance, does it not follow that the prophet Daniel was mistaken? If the Romans destroyed Jerusalem because the Jews had violated the law of Moses, how can we acquit St. Paul for what he says of "the weak and beggarly elements" of the law? The doctrine, therefore, is not sound. To prove that the reasoning is not just, it will be necessary to examine minutely the different passages in Daniel, and the explanation given of them by the annotators; for the present I decline the examination; but should I be called upon to prove that the annotators have reasoned incorrectly, I will endeavour to make good the charge.

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